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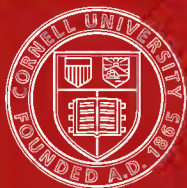


JUBILEE HISTORY

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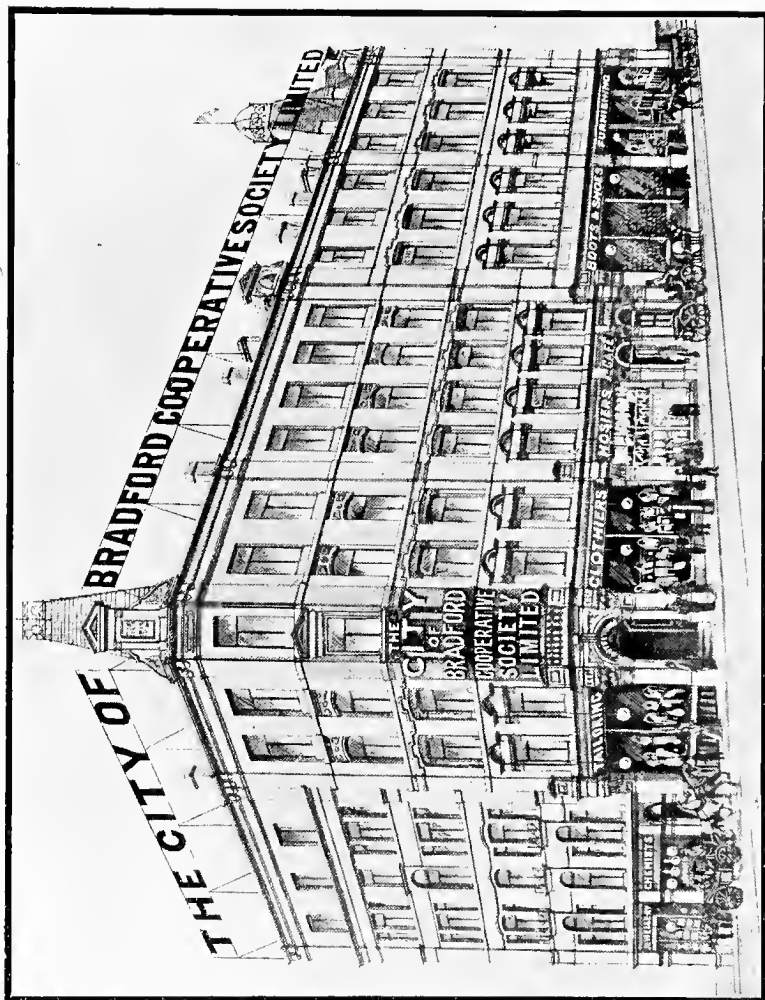
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CENTRAL PREMISES, SUNBRIDGE ROAD.

City of Bradford Co-operative
Society Limited

JUBILEE HISTORY

1860—1910

Compiled by

JOSEPH BENNETT (Secretary)

and

JOHN BALDWIN (Director)

BRADFORD :

WM. BYLES AND SONS LIMITED, PRINTERS, PICCADILLY

1911.

Foreword.

The following pages have been compiled under the instruction of the Jubilee Committee of the City of Bradford Co-operative Society after a perusal of the official records, containing nearly one hundred thousand minutes, together with very many newspaper reports of the various public incidents referred to during the fifty years of its existence.

The story will be found rather disjointed, owing to the difficulty of following three sets of records for a great portion of the time covered, seeing the present society is the result of two separate amalgamations. The difficulty has not been want of material, but rather its curtailment.

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	Early Beginnings	
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CHAPTER I.

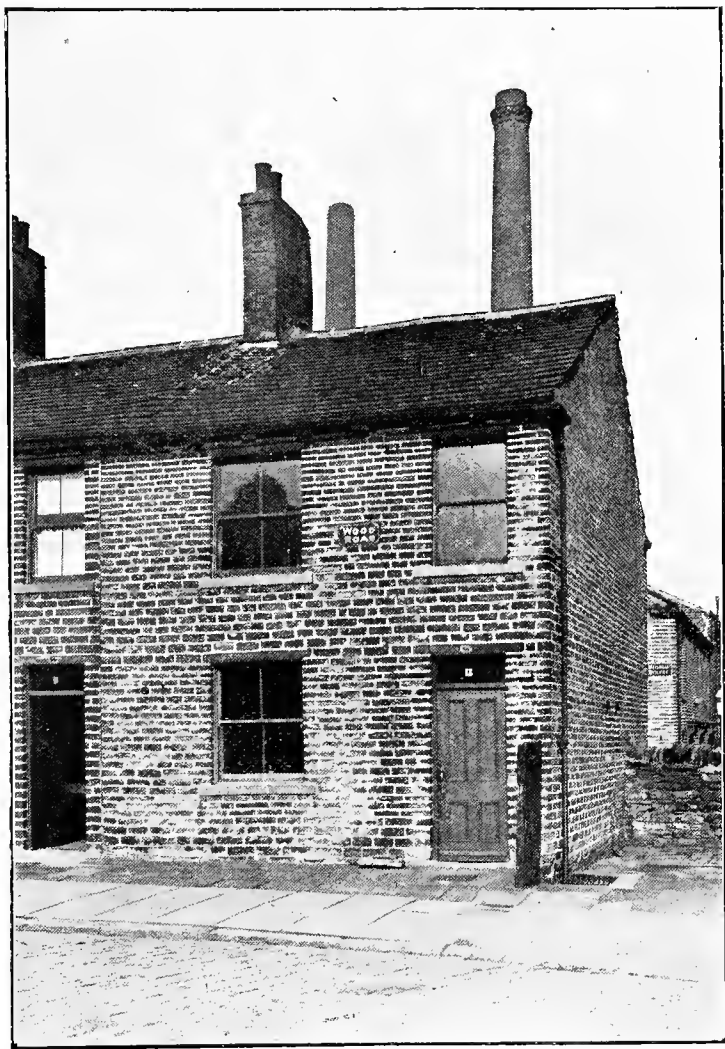
Co-operation advocated by the Social Science Congress
and by Louis Blanc, the French Social Reformer—The
workers of Bradford decide to make the attempt—
A Society Started—The First Committee.

HEN an artist, in painting a picture, wishes to bring a certain figure into prominence he will effect his object by sketching that figure in bright colours against a sombre background. Similarly, and, no doubt, governed by a like principle, the historian, anxious to show to the best advantage the particular cause he has at heart, will frequently depict the time immediately preceding that period he intends to bring out in relief as one of dark and gloomy days, so that the good which may have resulted from the adoption of the particular policy he advocates may be the better appreciated and recognised. No such artistic work will be necessary in this story of the birth and growth of co-operation in Bradford.

Although it is true that hard times had been experienced, for the Crimean War had left its mark on the country, and the years immediately following its close—1857 to 1859—were occupied in various attempts to



improve the lot of the workers, on whom generally the heavy burden of war falls most severely, yet at the moment of the opening of our story matters were not quite so bad as they had been and the future outlook was more promising. Certain schemes were publicly advocated with a view to the amelioration of the condition of the working classes. The Social Science Congress which met in Glasgow had discussed the problem and had decided in favour of co-operation as the most hopeful of all the proposed means whereby the condition of the working class might be raised, as it had within it a tendency to induce them to save and so prepare for such evil times as had been experienced. The signs of new life and activity were apparent on every side, as a result of the many suggestive articles in the press, magazines, and periodicals of the day. Working men in Bradford, as elsewhere, were awakening to a clearer sense of their own powers and importance. M. Louis Blanc, the French reformer, had fanned the flame by an eloquent address in the Temperance Hall on "Co-operation," in which he related to a crowded audience, chiefly composed of the working class, the steps taken by the workers of France to realise among themselves the principles of co-operation, which he described as one of the most practical and permanent results of the French Revolution of 1848. It is no wonder, then, that the seed began to take root in Bradford, or rather that the question of ways and means for accomplishing such good results began to be discussed in many of the large workshops and warehouses of the town. The idea of co-operation therefore was not born in Bradford, it came as something that had already succeeded elsewhere, and



Jennings's Cottage where the first meetings were held.

[See page 5



the problem set Bradford was how, and where to begin, and like many other problems the solution was found in several directions. There is strong evidence that several attempts had been made to establish societies, but beyond references to such as failures and as warnings against it to those likely to be led in that direction, nothing of a really definite nature can be gathered at this date. No trace of these early societies can be found, but the remembrance of them, according to Mr. P. T. Macaulay, was such as to strongly prejudice those who had had any connection with them against any other attempt in a similar direction. These fears, however, were gradually being removed, for at the time of the Social Science Congress in Glasgow it was stated that there were close on 160 societies already formed and in active operation, and that they possessed among them capital amounting to over a million pounds sterling.

While these earlier attempts at co-operation in Bradford were failures and their shadowy history has been lost in the dim uncertainty of the past, no great difficulty has been experienced in tracing the history of the present society. Documentary and other evidence can be produced to show that co-operation in this district took its rise high up on the hills at Queensbury, then like a stream it trickled slowly down to Great Horton. Some time afterwards it sprang up in two distinct places in Bradford. Almost simultaneously, at any rate within a few weeks of one another, there became established the Bradford Industrial Society and also the Bradford Provident Society. It is interesting to notice how this came about, because it is evident that both sprang from the

same source. Two individuals hailing from Harden, near Bingley, where a society was already established, came to work in Bradford. They were respectively Tom Bower and John Howarth. After a time the former got a situation at Queensbury, where he came in direct contact with the active workers of the successful society which had been established there. What could be more natural than for Tom Bower to convey to John Howarth, his companion from Harden, and also to his more immediate friends, the information thus derived? It was on the 22nd of March, 1860, then, according to Mr. Bower's statement, that some half dozen men and three women were seated in a cottage in Wood Road, Bowling Old Lane, in which a Mr. William Jennings lived, discussing the question of how best to establish one of these co-operative societies about which they had heard so much and which were doing so much for the working classes in other towns. The women took a prominent part in the discussion and promised to become subscribers themselves if a start was made. Eventually it was resolved that an attempt should be made and that each should commence paying sixpence per week towards raising a fund for opening a shop. Most of these people were employed at Mitchell Brothers' Mill, Manchester Road.

A start was there and then made; some took up two shares and some three shares. The money was placed in the savings bank and slowly accumulated. Meanwhile the weekly meetings still went on for the purpose of drawing up rules and regulations and receiving the contributions, as well as to enrol new members. After about five months the membership had grown to thirty-one, which for

various reasons afterwards dropped to twenty-eight. Exactly the same number as formed the Rochdale Pioneer Society.

About this same period another group of individuals after due consideration had come to a similar decision. These were mostly mechanics connected with the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, who held their meetings in the old Roe Buck Inn, which formerly stood between the bottom of Ivegate and Market Street. Here the shining light was Mr. Robert Barker, of Bowling Iron-works, who was ably assisted by Mr. Edward Norton and a Mr. William Wooller, of Swithin Anderton's factory. All their logic seemed to be lost, however, for while many of their colleagues who decided to join actually did commence to subscribe, they afterwards drew out again as if the landlord of the Roe Buck had stronger claims and attraction for their money than the desire to better their condition in life, or it may be they lacked that inspiration which the other group had through the presence of the women members. When they found their efforts unavailing several of them joined their forces with the group of Mitchell Brothers' employees before mentioned, and thus strengthened, the place of meeting was changed from Wood Road to Clayton Lane, Manchester Road.

With this augmentation of their numbers the spirits of this band rose, and when several offered to increase their contributions if a shop could be opened matters began to look more healthy and vigorous. Encouraged by such offers, but more especially when sums of £5, £10, and even one of £20 were brought, they decided to take what was then No. 147 Manchester Road, at a rental of



The Roe Buck Inn.

[See page 6



£31 per year. This shop is still standing, but the number has been altered, and can be identified now as the shop at the corner of Adelaide Street. To make certain of this, however, was not so easy as one might suppose, for directories were not regularly published at that period, and the testimony of several living witnesses was at such variance that it became necessary to secure more reliable evidence. This was done, and authentic confirmation obtained, some of which, however, was supplied outside the Co-operative Society altogether. On the same evening (September 21st, 1860) it was also decided that "Messrs. William Wooller, Thomas Wilkinson, and Thomas Morte be fit and proper persons to be a committee to manage the fitting up of the shop fixtures," and so eager were they now to get to business that they agreed to begin that duty the next day, which was a Saturday, at half-past three o'clock. It was also decided to give notice to the Savings Bank for the withdrawal of the money invested therein, besides which, and as showing their faith, it was agreed to print 400 copies of the rules and 200 contribution cards. Within a fortnight it was thought advisable to strengthen the temporary committee by the addition of Messrs. William Kitchenman, John Paxton, David Helliwell, and Joseph Suckworth, and also to furnish the committee room (above the shop) with a table and eight chairs..

In a few days the shop was opened with Cornelius Lumb as manager. Of the £80 capital, £50 were spent in fitting up the shop, which left the magnificent sum of £30 with which to provide a varied stock of all sorts of eatables for the members.

Immediately after opening the shop a general meeting



of the members was called for the purpose of electing officers.

The minutes of this meeting have been preserved and state that it was held on the 16th of October, 1860, and for the first time the name of the society is given as "The Bradford Provident Industrial Society," and the following were elected as officers for the ensuing twelve months.

President : Thomas Bower.

Treasurer : Edwin Hopkinson.

Secretary : John Lockwood.

Trustees : William Wooller.

„ William Kitchenman.

„ John Steel.

Committee : Edwin Norton, Abrm. Robinson, John Savile, John Paxton, David Wilson, William Jennings, William Sykes, Thomas Peel.

Arbitrators : William Sugden, John Mitchell, William Rushworth, James Richards, John Smith.



		The Bradford Industrial Co-operative Society ::		
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CHAPTER II.

The start of a Second Co-operative Society in Bradford—
 A Sympathetic Editor—Newspaper Correspondence—
 Early Suggestions as to the best form of Co-operation—
 Proposal for a National Co-operative Society.

Having seen the Bradford Provident Industrial Society established, let us now see how our other stream fared, for although the two were entirely separated for a number of years they afterwards came together again and have ever since flowed as one stream.

It was towards the close of the year 1859 that, after lessons in a Mutual Improvement Class which was held in Mitchell's Temperance Hotel, Union Street, John Howarth proposed "that the class resolve itself into a committee to organise and establish a co-operative society." This was seconded by Mr. Hugh Watson and agreed to unanimously. Mr. Craven Jowett was appointed chairman, and Mr. Howarth, secretary, about a dozen names being given in for membership, after which the meeting adjourned till the following night.

At first these meetings seemed to be more in the nature of propagandist gatherings where discussions were

maintained on all sorts of advanced questions and social problems, no decided attempt was made to do anything practical.

After about two months spent in this kind of work, with very little progress, a removal to Tweed's Temperance Hotel in Well Street was made, which brought an influx to the membership, especially from the Manningham district. Among these may be mentioned Elias Thomas, Eli Carter, W. Lush, and Malcolm Ross, all of whom became well-known individuals in after years in either politics or religion.

The same kind of talk went on for several more months, but in the meantime rules had been drawn up and registered, and the announcement to that effect made public by an advertisement in the *Bradford Observer*, of September 27th, 1860, which also stated "That the Provisional Committee of the Bradford Industrial Co-operative Society beg respectively to inform the working classes of Bradford and neighbourhood that its meetings are held at Tweed's Temperance Hotel, Well Street, every Monday evening, at 8 o'clock, for the purpose of enrolling members, receiving subscriptions, and transacting general business. On next Monday Evening the General Election of Officers will take place."—John Howarth, *Secretary pro tem.*"

Who formed the first committee of this Society we do not know, but some light is thrown on the position of the society by a leading article which appeared a little later in the *Bradford Observer*.

The proprietor of this paper, Mr. William Byles, seems to have been very sympathetic towards the movement

MEMBER'S TICKET.

Trade Mechanic

Entrance 18. }
 Received by } John H. Lockwood...

JOHN LOCKWOOD, Secretary.

[illegible]

Robert Barker's Ticket of Membership.



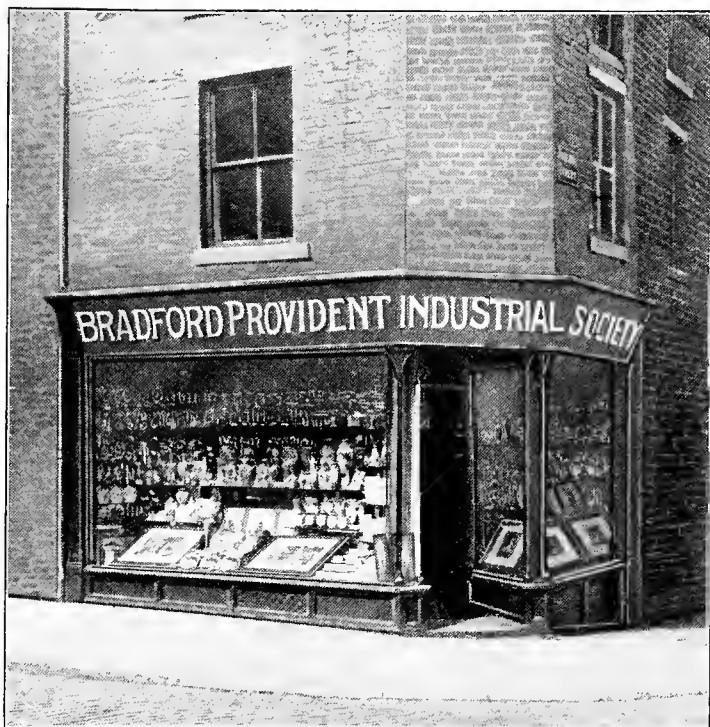
from its very inception. In this article he said : " A short time ago a few working men resolved upon starting a co-operative association in this town and were not long before they had rules drawn out and registered according to Act of Parliament. This form of industrial economy affords facilities for the poorest to become members, as on five shares, being the lowest number granted, the sum weekly to be paid is only $3\frac{1}{2}d.$, which includes a fraction that goes to the management fund, while to those who are better off it offers great encouragement for the investment of savings, as 5 per cent is paid for every pound of capital invested, not to speak of the bonus which the members receive on dividing the profits. These and other inducements are causing numbers to take advantage of the opportunity at present held out to them, and we understand that the association now numbers upwards of seventy members, who have taken up between 500 and 600 shares of £1 each. The committee expect to be able to open a store in as central a situation as possible in the course of a few weeks."

Some idea of the nature of the discussions which occupied the attention of these early co-operators, who met week by week to pay their contributions, can be formed from a paper written by Mr. Joshua Clarkson, Hall Lane, Bradford, and serves to show the difficulties with which they were faced, and also accounts to some extent for the long time that elapsed between the first meeting and the opening of the stores. Mr. Clarkson claimed to have been a co-operator before coming to Bradford, and also that he had had experience and a knowledge of the causes which led to so many failures in



the past. He was anxious therefore that there should be no risk run in this instance. Reading the signs of the times, he said it was evident the country was on the eve of a great co-operative development. Working men were mentally realising the possibility of becoming the masters instead of the slaves of capital. The low seething sound of the great tidal wave of public opinion so confidently expected and waited for by all shades of Social Reformers was then clearly and distinctly heard in the distance, and he advised the said reformers to prepare without delay to harness the new and mighty power which was approaching to the conditions of success. Strong arms, stout hearts, and clear heads alone were wanted to inaugurate this mighty revolution in which all would be gainers and none losers. "Hereditary bondsmen," he cried, "know ye not, who would be free themselves must strike the blow."

His first argument was that it was of the greatest importance that it should be really co-operative and not a number of small competing societies scattered through the country. Here we have a forecast of the scheme promulgated by Mr. J. C. Gray at the Birmingham Co-operative Congress in 1906. He said "if the working men split themselves up into small competing companies very little would be gained, for the same evils as exist at present would speedily creep in and great waste and unnecessary expense in distribution would be the consequence." To avoid anything so fatal to the co-operative idea he suggested that all the different companies which were being formed into societies in Bradford should be called together and amalgamated so as to form branches of the Leeds Co-operative Flour Mill Society. By such means these



The First Shop, Manchester Road.

[See page 6]



societies would at once avail themselves of the prestige, the business experience, the assistance and success of an old established and comparatively wealthy society, which was an advantage to a new beginner that could hardly be over-estimated.

His next point was that they should not form extravagant expectations as to what co-operation would do for them, they must not expect to get great riches out of it, at least not such as "take unto themselves wings and fly away." If they could aid in introducing a state of things which would bring peace and competence and security against poverty to themselves and their children they would have done a far nobler work than if they had spent their lives in building up the most princely fortune.

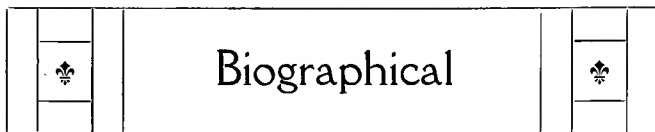
The reply to this came from Mr. Malcolm Ross, an engraver and copper-plate printer in Well Street, who said the failures of the early attempts at co-operation were due to untoward and mischievous causes, the action of which was common to all movements where there was a deficiency of judgment, forethought, and calculation. Not to any deficiency in the principle but to a combination of adverse arrangements where perhaps speculative meanness had occupied no small space. Such failures he suggested were the price paid for experience, and anyone who shrank from attempting to improve his position because someone else had missed his way, would regret his weakness when he could not help himself. With regard to the proposal to join the Leeds Flour Mill Society as a branch he was entirely opposed. It would be a grievous blunder to sacrifice the independence of the new association from any cowardly fear of its not being able to weather the



storm. If the men at the head were to be frightened from their manly position by lame advices of that kind his interest would quickly subside, but he had far more faith in them than that. He believed all who had thrown in their lot in this matter were every whit as earnest as he was himself, and as willing to help it through any difficulty which it might have to contend with. Bradford had a population larger than many places where co-operation was succeeding, such as Rochdale, Bacup, and Stalybridge, and he could not see why it should not rival any of them, as the identical means to do so were as plentiful here as there.

The monthly meeting of the Industrial Society following this discussion saw an addition of ten members, which brought the total to 100, and the share capital to £70, but at the next after that it was stated that the share capital amounted to £150, and the membership to 130, and further that a shop was being fitted up in the centre of the town and would be shortly opened.

This shop was at 30 Queensgate (next door to Mr. Hipwell, the hatter). A committee was appointed to purchase the necessary goods, but a difficulty presented itself then for the first time. Where were they to get a reliable shopman? After much discussion it was decided to offer the position to Mr. John Howarth, who up till then had acted as Secretary. Mr. Howarth, however, being a shoemaker by trade, knowing nothing about groceries, stipulated that he should be allowed a fortnight in which to become efficient. This was granted.



CHAPTER III.

How John Howarth, shoemaker, prepared himself to sell groceries—An early Sample Order—The First Minutes of the Committee—Which was the First Society, Queensgate or Bridge Street ?

As present day co-operators owe very much to the self-sacrificing individuals who “well and truly” laid the foundation upon which the present superstructures have been raised, it may be of some interest to know what kind of men they were, and as Mr. Howarth became a very prominent one among them he may be taken as a sample of the grit and determination that characterised many of them. He was born on the 31st January, 1827, at Harden, near Bingley, where he spent his early youth. The only schooling he had was between the years two and five, at which age he commenced to work. His father and mother being hand loom weavers, he became an expert at bobbin winding, for which he received 1s. 6d. per week and his meals, having to walk a distance of a mile morning and evening. At nine years of age he became a hand-loom weaver, and continued at that occupation till the advent of the power loom, which destroyed the manual labour

and compelled him to seek work elsewhere. This he found as a mill-hand at Goit Stock Mill, which was then a cotton mill. Before he was eleven years of age he was passed as a "full-timer," and worked twelve hours per day. About this time his father's health completely broke down, and he died of consumption, leaving his mother with John as the eldest of six children, while the youngest was only three months old. His eldest sister joined him at the mill, and their combined earnings enabled them to struggle on, but for two or three years they were in the deepest poverty, as at that time flour, such as it was, was 5s. per stone. After a few years' struggling his mother passed away, leaving him in charge of several brothers and sisters. In 1848 he married and earned his living by shoemaking, and it was while attending a mutual improvement class, for the purpose of advancing his education, that he learned about co-operation as already mentioned. and it was only characteristic of all his undertakings to have a desire to perfect himself in the duties before accepting the position.

Mr. Howarth's first grocery lesson was derived from the manager of the Leeds Society, with whom he spent four days, getting to know things and being introduced to the various tradesmen ; also how and what to buy. In this connection he went with the Leeds manager to the Otley market to study the manner of buying best butter, a very important duty in that day, as the Danish butter was then unknown.

The next stage in Mr. Howarth's grocery apprenticeship after leaving Leeds was at Keighley, where he bound himself to a friend who had a good business. Here he undertook to do anything that was required of him for

eight days, which included two Saturdays, for nothing so long as he received an insight into the business. At the end of the period, during which he worked like a slave, his master said he was fit to go into any shop in the country. On this recommendation the committee of the society at their next meeting duly appointed him manager, and on Saturday, December 15th, 1860, the shop was opened by him, with Mrs. Howarth as his assistant, the first day's takings amounting to £25.

What these shops contained on the day of their opening we do not know, certainly it would be interesting if we did, but there is a fairly complete list of articles ordered on the first committee night after the opening of the store in Manchester Road. The original spelling is maintained, not with any idea of belittling or showing up the lack of education in these pioneers of co-operation, for it rather redounds to their credit that, knowing their limitations in that direction, they bravely undertook duties which many would shrink from to-day. First of all it was decided to have a "Seale with the Title of the Society on the Margen and in the Center a Bee Ive in accordance with the Pass Book." Then 5 Packs of Best Flower ; 2 Packs thirds ; 3 Packs of Oate Meal ; 1 Pack of Crushed Weate ; 1 Quarter of Malt half pale and heigh coloured ; and 5lb. of Hops ; 2 cwt. common sop ; 1 cegg of Kean Butter ; 4lb. Coffee, each ground and Bean ; $\frac{1}{2}$ cwt. Currans ; 1 Bagg Carb Rice ; 1 Roule each of Beef and Backen. Next follows ordinary business :—"Proposed and Caried that all Flower be reduced two Pence per stone." "That all Persons Must be up Standing while Speaking During Busness hours." "That No Smoking be aloud

during Business hours." "That the Store Keeper has 24s. per week until the house be ready for him." "That the Store Keeper be paid on the Wensday Committee Meetings." "That the Check Book be laid on the Table every Wednesday Evening." "That a Note be Sent to the Landlord Requesting him to make the Required alterations," and so on for twenty-one resolutions passed that evening.



From the foregoing it will have been gathered that while the Bradford Industrial Society, or, as it became more familiarly known afterwards, the Queensgate Society, was the first of the two to be registered; the Bradford Provident Society, or the Bridge Street Society as it was afterwards called, was the first to commence business. As already mentioned, there was only a space of a few weeks between them certainly, yet just sufficient time to give colour to the statement that the fact of the opening of the Manchester Road store spurred on the more slowly moving



committee of the other society into taking action ; also to bear out the idea that, to a slight extent, there was a little friendly rivalry between them. It has been said the difference between the two committees was that the one contained all the talkers and the other all the workers, hence the rapid growth of the one to that of the other. At any rate if all the talkers belonged to the Queensgate Society it is certain the Provident possessed a poet, for shortly after opening the store in Manchester Road it was decided by the committee "That the four verses composed by Abraham Robinson (a member of the committee) be printed on our Tea Papers, with an ornamental border, together with the address of the society, also one half of the number to be printed with the six points of co-operation on them." What the six points were we have not been able to learn, nor can we trace any copy of the four verses, which must have been thought very highly of.

Again, if the Queensgate Society had an advantage in having Mrs. Howarth to assist her husband, the Provident did the next best thing, they ordered "That two Harden Slips be purchased for the use of committeemen assisting in the weighing." Probably this would be for what is known as the flour corner, and it was taken in turns, but before the year 1860 ended Edward Schofield was engaged permanently to assist on Friday and Saturday evenings.





CHAPTER IV.

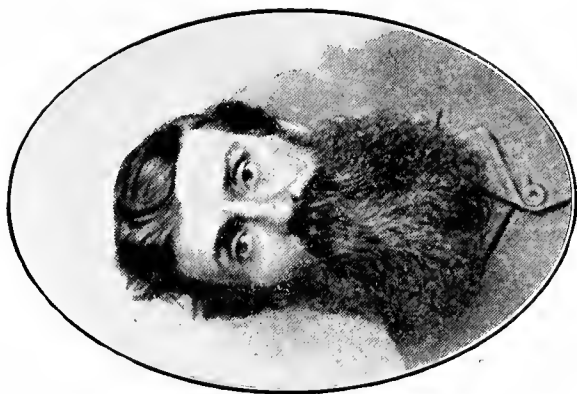
Success with both societies leads to Schemes for Branching Out—Co-operative Missionaries sent out in opposite directions—The Beginning of Friendly Rivalry—First Balance Sheets and First General Meetings—White Abbey Store Opened—Premises taken at Wibsey and Bowling for others.

Business seemed to prosper with both societies, for in a few short months both were on the look-out for planting branches. The Provident authorised the Secretary and John Saville, and as many of the committee as could make it convenient, to attend at the Perseverance Hotel, Lumb Lane, with a view to securing new members in that direction, and they must have meant business, for the Secretary was entrusted by a special minute with the custody of twenty copies of the rules. On the other hand, the Queensgate Society sent their missionaries in the opposite direction, to Dudley Hill.

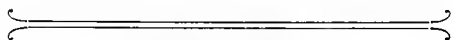
It is well to notice this manœuvre. The Provident Society, with its headquarters in Manchester Road, journey towards Manningham, while the Queensgate Society, the bulk of whose members belonged to Manningham, invade Dudley Hill, which is in the direct opposite direction. Either may have been chosen at

haphazard or they may have been the result of skilful planning, but whichever was the reason it was bound to lead to friction in the end.

Early on next year, 1861, the results of the business done by the Provident was made known, for on the 1st February the general meeting of the members was held in the Borough West School, with Mr. Thomas Bower in the chair. The sales of goods had amounted to £796, on which a profit of £33 had been realised. This meant that in ten weeks' time a dividend of one shilling in the pound had been earned. Of course the amount of jubilation caused by this news may well be imagined. The membership was just one over the two hundred, while the capital amounted to £588. It was no wonder that such a record of success carried them away with excitement, for they decided forthwith that the committee should receive sixpence each per week for their services and that they should have power to open branches wherever they could enrol fifty members. The amount of wages to be paid to the secretary and treasurer, however, was too delicate for a public meeting and these were referred to the committee to award. Another item of business was "that the meeting thought the committee were quite justified in the exchange of secretary." No reason is given, but John Lockwood's name disappears from the list and Joseph Womersley takes the vacancy. The only other alteration in the management was that John Thompson was substituted in place of William Jennings, who had resigned. At the next committee meeting it was decided to give the auditors 2s. each for their services, and in regard to the secretary and treasurer



Mr. Edward Schofield.



Mr. John Howarth.

it was decided that "they have a vote with the committee," so that was something after all. Later on in the year, however, it was agreed that the services of the secretary for the half-year were worth £5, while those of the treasurer were valued at £2.

Coming back to the Queensgate Society, their first balance sheet was presented on April 1st, and contained the record of the first quarter's business. Here the meeting was held in the room over the shop in Queensgate, and it is remarkable how close the two societies were in membership. In this society the number given at the end of the quarter, which was in March, was that there were exactly 200 members, or one less than in the other society. Another notable item is that while the total trade was higher than the other, viz., £897 as against £796, yet only £486 of this was to members. On this turn-over a profit of £30 was made. This enabled a dividend of 1s. 3d. in the pound to be paid, which, of course, was threepence more than had been paid by the Provident Society, and no doubt called forth comparative congratulatory comments, which ended with unanimous approval and the giving of powers to the committee to negotiate for the opening of branches. There is one other feature worth noticing, the share capital only amounted to £322, against £588 in the Provident. Now it has generally been supposed that the Queensgate Society possessed the better class of members, financially, seeing many of them were men in business, and besides it contained on the committee a number of semi-public men in the town whose purchasing power might reasonably be expected to be far greater than the ordinary worker.

Therefore an impartial examination of the facts would lead to the conviction that the real co-operative spirit was stronger in the Provident than in the Queensgate. This is also to some extent borne out by the very large amount of purchases from outsiders, who, no doubt, would be attracted more by a strong sympathy towards the cause than for any expectation of dividend. At any rate it is remarkable that one half of the trade was done by non-members. So, after all, the talkers seemed to have exercised their powers of persuasion to some purpose to have been able to draw the public to purchase the goods while leaving the profits for the members. How far this was an advantage will be learned later on ; in the meantime we only note the fact as having a bearing on the race between these two societies.

The first branch to be established was the White Abbey Store of the Bradford Provident, of which Mr. Edward Ackroyd became the manager, but only for a short time, as he was soon replaced by John Normington. Next, a shop was taken at Wibsey, of which William Hardy became manager ; and two houses belonging to John Stead were taken at Bowling to provide a shop in that district. This latter arrangement was in response to an application from a meeting which had been held in the Bowling School-room, which was, as the minute says, near to the "Seven Stars," this latter place being a well-known hotel.



commencement. If that is so, the Provident were somewhat behind in this respect, but not for long.

It seems to have been a custom at this time too that when a new branch was being arranged for that a new committee was selected from the residents in the locality, and thus we have for the White Abbey Branch Messrs. Thomas Cousin, John Wallis, George Dalton Binns, Duncan Macdonald, and Duke Fearnley appointed as such a committee.

Who the sub-committee for the other stores were at this particular time we do not know, but shortly afterwards it was agreed that Jos. Wilby, William Culpan, John Holroyd, and David Helliwell be the sub-committee for the Manchester Road Store; that George Buthrie, William Norton, Robert Stocks, and William Tordoff be the sub-committee for Wibsey; that George Newhill, Nathaniel Sutcliffe, and Thomas Wood be the sub-committee for Bowling store. It should be noted here that these committeemen were outside the general committee, and their duties were to confer with the store-manager and submit a weekly report to the Board every Monday evening.

All was not plain sailing, however, in connection with the opening of new branches, for it seems some difficulty arose in connection with the Wibsey store between the society and the Great Horton society, and a committee was appointed to submit the trouble to arbitration at a meeting held in Tweed's Temperance Hotel. The result of such conference is not given, but the committee went on with their arrangements, so it looks as if some agreement was arrived at.

With regard to the Bowling store, it would seem as if the society took over the shop and fixtures of a Mr. George Adamson and kept him on as manager, for a minute settles his appointment and that the value of the fixtures, £60, should stand as his guarantee, he to be allowed five per cent. interest thereon.

When the general meeting came round again it was held in the Borough West School, with Mr. T. Bower in the chair. From the report presented it was seen that the membership had more than doubled; the capital was slightly less, but the sales had increased to £3714. The profit was less in proportion to the turnover of the previous half year and only amounted to £96, which, in place of 1s. dividend, would only allow 8d. This, then, was the members' first lesson, and the President took the opportunity of teaching the moral. "The decrease," he said, "was due to a temporary falling off in the demand for flour caused by some of them foolishly supposing, because it was darker in colour it was inferior in quality. This was a mistake," he assured them, "as the nutritious qualities were actually better." How often a similar statement has had to be made is known best to those who have attended regularly at the meetings since then, but it must be observed that at this time it was private millers' flour that the complaint had been made against. The report was adopted, but whether the next resolution had anything to do with the drop in the dividend is not clear. At any rate, it was decided to have quarterly meetings in future in place of half-yearly. The reason for this may have been just because the Industrial Society had quarterly meetings and there might have been a suspicion that such

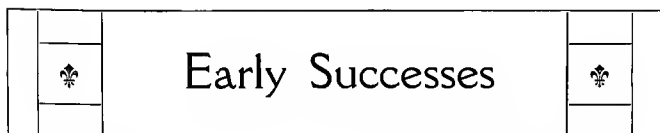
enabled them to secure their 1s. 3d. dividend through having a tighter hold on the management. Whatever was the reason, the idea does not seem to have been long in force, as only one quarterly meeting was held afterwards and that does not seem to have been minuted. There was one thing done at the above meeting which should not be over-looked. It was decided to confirm the proposal that the secretary, treasurer, and trustees should have a vote along with the committee on all occasions, which practically meant an increase in the number of committee of management.

What very probably operated in the minds of the members of the Provident Society to suggest quarterly meetings was the report of the Queensgate Society, which had been held a few weeks previously, and which showed not only an increase in the sales but also a rise of a penny in the dividend, bringing that to 1s. 4d. in the pound. Their membership too had reached over 300, with every prospect of a speedy augmentation, seeing they were about to open their first new branch in Dudley Hill and already had held a tea-party in the locality in honour of the occasion.

But if that was the idea of the Provident's members it did not last long, for at the very next quarterly meeting of the Queensgate Society, which was their third, and corresponded nearly to the half-yearly of the Provident Society, a different tale had to be told. The Chairman had the unpleasant task of explaining away a drop of 4d. in the dividend. This, he said, was due to the Dudley Hill branch yielding considerably less percentage of profit than that made at the central; also there had been a less

profitable return from the sale of flour at the central, besides which checks to the value of £20 had been brought in that quarter which should have been returned in the previous quarter. The meeting, however, accepted the explanation, especially when a promise was given that better results would be shown the next time. What the new branch had done is not known, but the total sales were shown to have been £1560 as against £1290 for the previous quarter, while the profits showed only one pound more for the increased turnover. The membership was given as about 350.





CHAPTER VI,

Knowledge Comes with Experience—Michael Dowling's Shop in Manchester Road Taken—Preparation for First Tea Party with the Provident Society—The Queensgate Society also hold a Tea Party—Reports of Speeches at both Meetings.

It is difficult after fifty years to find out the actual causes which led to certain actions being taken, firstly, because the minutes rarely give such, being merely a record of proposals carried and no doubt acted upon, and, secondly, the real actors in the scenes have all passed away ; so we are compelled to draw our own conclusions from the actions related. We may be right or we may be wrong in our surmise, but it seems a reasonable assumption that when the directors of the Provident Society took the shop in Manchester Road they had no experience and took the first that was offered. Since then other three had been taken, and we presume the committee must have gained a certain amount of knowledge by their transactions. Therefore, it is not strange to find them, about the middle of 1861, already beginning to look out for a better bargain than they had made in their first attempt, or it may have been that the landlord, as is the custom of their class,

finding them succeeding so well wanted to raise the rent. Of course these are only surmises. What did happen was that early in June it was decided that "a party wait upon Mr. Padget to see if he is willing to let Michael Dowling's shop to this society." Then, a week later, that "we take Michael Dowling's shop if we can come to an agreement with the landlord." It was not, however, till September 18th that it was finally decided to take the shop, when it is minuted "that the trustees take the shop at the rent of £25 per year," whereas they were paying £31 where they were. In the meantime the society had parted with Cornelius Lumb, who had acted as manager. Thus it came to be that the No. 1 branch was transferred to the opposite side of Manchester Road and only a little higher up than it had been previously. It could not be because the position of the store was in a wrong place, as there is so little difference between the two places that it must be either the rent or the accommodation. We do know that the rent was less, but are entirely in the dark as to convenience of the one place over the other.

There was another change before the end of the year. Mr. Joseph Womersley resigned his position as secretary, and it was decided by the monthly meeting of the members that the committee choose their own secretary till the half-yearly meeting. At this meeting too Mr. Ben Broadbent appears on the scene, taking the place of Mr. Sykes on the committee, while Mr. George Butler succeeded Mr. John Sutcliffe as one of the auditors. The remaining portion of the year was taken up with preparation for a great tea party and concert, for which the Oddfellows' Hall was engaged. By this means it was

intended to let the people of Bradford know that the revolution had begun, how far it had proceeded, and to invite others to join.

Towards the end of the year too a marked improvement had taken place with the Queensgate Society. The last quarter of the year showed sales as £1967, being an increase of £407 for the quarter, while the profit amounted to £96 as against £60. This enabled the committee to redeem their promise to increase the dividend, and on this occasion to pay 1s. 2d. in place of the 1s. previously. Of course this achievement and, it is supposed, the knowledge that their rivals were going to hold a monstre tea was sufficient inducement for them to do likewise, so the Temperance Hall was engaged forthwith.

Here again we notice how near to one another these two societies were sailing at this particular period. It was rivalry without a doubt. Which committee actually first proposed the idea of a tea it is difficult to say, but this much must be pointed out—the Provident held theirs first, the Queensgate came a good second a week or so later. The Provident secured the Oddfellows' Hall and had the Mayor (I. Wright, Esq.) for chairman, while the Queensgate had the Temperance Hall, with Councillor Pollard in the chair. The Provident had nearly 600 persons to tea, while the Queensgate had 500. The membership of the Provident was over 400, while the Queensgate claimed to have 300 members. The Provident had four stores and the Queensgate had two. It seems, therefore, that although the Queensgate Society was still leading in regard to dividend, and it must be admitted in regard to the social position of its members, yet the

Provident was gradually forging ahead in spreading the blessing of co-operation among the community. Hard work was beginning to tell in this friendly race for supremacy, for it was nothing else, as the only mention of the Queensgate Society in the minutes of the Provident up to this date is for conferences between the two committees, with a view to joint purchasing and of helping one another.

To return, then, to the Soirée in the Oddfellows' Hall, the account of which is fully given in the *Bradford Observer* at the time. From this we learn it was held on Saturday, January 4th, 1862. The hall was tastefully decorated for the occasion, small flags bearing inscriptions commendatory of forethought and providence were scattered over the room.

The report of the meeting says "nearly 600 well-dressed persons first partook of tea." Why they should be thus specially described is hard to say, unless it was in bearing out the idea of the inferior social position of the members of the one society compared with the other, or it may have been that the reporter had suspicious ideas of his own with regard to the class of individuals who had banded themselves together for the purpose of bringing about that great social revolution of which so many had been speaking. At any rate he pays them this compliment, that they were well-dressed, for which we must be for ever grateful. There is one thing, however, that this lynx-eyed reporter missed, and that was the tea itself. Preparation had been made for a certain number, but so great was the crowd that it was seen before long that there would not be enough to go round. Messengers were therefore despatched to White Abbey and to

Manchester Road stores for additional supplies, as it would not do to go to a private shop. Still the cry was for more and more, and the last sitting-down had to be satisfied with biscuits in place of bread. He says, further, that a public meeting was subsequently held at which the numbers were greatly augmented. The Mayor was supported by many well-known friends of social progress, including the Rev. Dr. Burnet (the Vicar), Mr. Alderman Brown, Mr. John Holmes (Leeds), and Mr. S. C. Kell, &c. There was an excellent glee party, consisting of Mrs. Hartley, Miss Charlesworth, Mr. T. Hartley, Mr. Senior, and Mr. Pennington, with H. Fearnley as pianist, who added greatly by their performances to the pleasure of the entertainment.

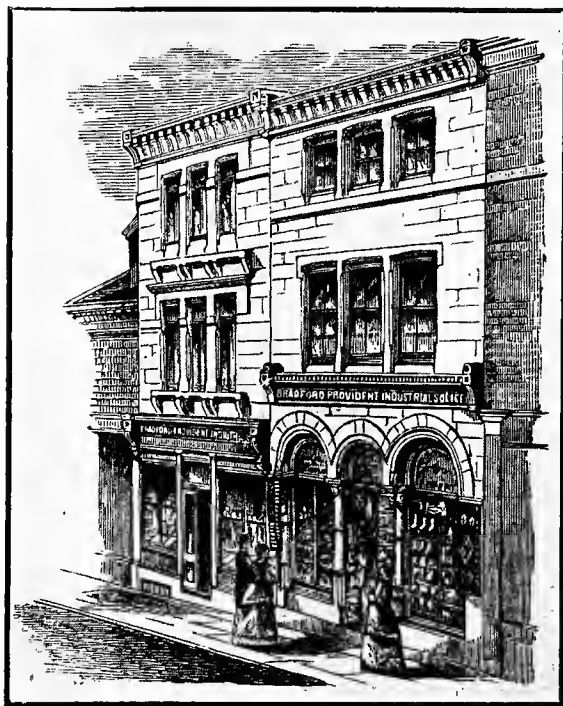
The Mayor, in opening the proceedings, said they had not met to lay the foundation-stone of a mill or building for the purpose of carrying on business, though this would be the case one day, but they had met to give their countenance and support to this most valuable institution—an institution of which he was sure every Englishman ought to be proud. This was a step in the right direction. Let their fellow countrymen once feel that they had got a position in the world—that they had a stake in the hedge, and they might rely upon it that their progress would be sure. Indeed, let a man once acquire £5 by the saving habit, and he would never be satisfied till he had realised £10 and £20. No doubt it required great self-denial at the outset to save a few pounds, but the habit, once begun, became easier, and the man who practised the saving habit had his reward in the knowledge that his circumstances were always growing better. This was the object the

Bradford Provident had in view. It sought to improve the material condition of men—to place them, if possible, beyond the reach of poverty by securing for them a condition of comparative independence. The members applied their own savings to the purchase of the articles of daily use and consumption, and they thereby not only secured to themselves the best and purest articles for their money, but they divided the profits which accrued from retailing. They had thus several advantages, to say nothing of the moral and social advantages arising from a good habit. They had the advantage of having unadulterated food, and they had the profits which belonged to themselves as distributors. The Mayor went on to say that it was impossible to foretell the great benefits which would flow to society from the formation of societies such as the Provident Industrial Society.

Mr. J. Holmes, of the Leeds Society, next addressed the meeting, in which he specially commended thrift and said a movement should not be judged by the number of persons who espoused it, and in proof of his contention pointed out that some 14,000 persons were attracted to Baildon Moor to see a knur and spell match, while only some 1700 persons attended a great Reform Demonstration at Leeds a short time previously. He then entered into a comparison between the healthy conditions of life enjoyed by the wealthy classes and the unfavourable condition which prevailed among the working classes, and urged the latter to save their money and utilise it through co-operation to better these conditions, and if they were true and faithful to one another they could not fail to realise profits, as had been done at Rochdale and elsewhere, which

would probably be the foundation of independence and comfort.

Mr. Thomas Bower, President of the Society, next



Central Premises, Bridge Street.

related the story of the formation of the society as given in the preceding pages, and expressed himself as highly gratified with the progress made, and appealed to the working men of the town to come and join them.



Alderman Brown congratulated the gathering on their large numbers and expressed his pleasure at the statement just made by the President. He said he was happy to hear the society was flourishing and that the principle of co-operation had taken such root in the good town of Bradford as to be permanent. It was his sincere hope that it would be so. To have a membership of 450 in so short a period showed that the society had made great progress among the working men. They had opened four shops in different parts of the town in order to meet the demands of their members. He had attended the meeting of the British Association, which had been held at Manchester, and was greatly interested in a paper by the Rev. W. N. Molesworth, in which the story of the formation of the Rochdale Pioneers' Society had been told. He expressed the hope that if they succeeded as the Rochdale Society had done they would follow their example in providing a library and a large news-room for the benefit of the members.

The Rev. Dr. Burnet also addressed the meeting, and expressed his great gratification at the prosperous condition of the society. For a long time he had felt it to be a disgrace to a population so intelligent, so industrious, and, for the size of the town, so sober as the working people of Bradford were that Rochdale should have outstripped them in such remarkable manner in regard to a society of this kind. Some years before he had the honour, and also a little of the anxiety, of being a trustee of the Flour Mill Society that had been established in Bradford. Unfortunately, it had not been managed properly and it became a total failure. He had great hopes of the

working men when he found them taking their affairs into their own hands. They would find plenty ready to help them when they got firmly established on their legs. He knew of no finer way in which working men could help themselves than by adopting the principle of co-operation, Dr. Burnet concluded a splendid address by commending this principle as involving purity in the article and economy in the supply, promoting the health of their families and an economical expenditure, to say nothing of the profits to be realised. He wished it abundant success.

After Mr. Rawlinson, of Bury, and Mr. Wood, of Sowerby Bridge, had related the history of co-operation in their respective localities, Mr. John Schofield proposed a vote of thanks to the Mayor, which was seconded by Mr. Edwin Norton and carried unanimously, and a similar vote was passed to Dr. Burnet, after which the National Anthem concluded the first great co-operative meeting in Bradford.

A few days later the Queensgate Society held their first annual tea and concert in the Temperance Hall, Leeds Road. About 500 sat down to tea, and after the tables had been cleared away the concert and meeting was held, with Councillor Pollard in the chair. In opening the proceedings he expressed the hope that the working classes would continue to keep their eyes open to the fact that such movements were a means of elevating themselves and of enabling them to feel their own power by doing their own work. He congratulated the society, in conclusion, upon having 300 full benefit members although there were from 400 to 500 names on the books, which was a good record for the first year.



Mr. Malcolm Ross reviewed the history of the society, in which he said the capital had almost doubled in the fourth quarter compared with the first. The sales had more than doubled and the profit made in the fourth quarter was treble that made in the first, although the dividend was a penny less.

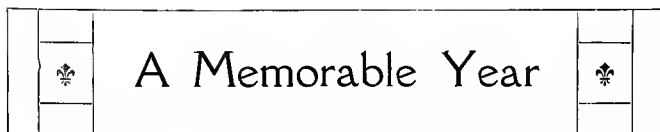
Mr. Eli Carter followed and alluded to the social and domestic benefits as well as home and material comforts to be derived from a membership in the society.

Mr. Elias Thomas gave three reasons why he became a co-operator: first, because it paid well; secondly, it taught the value of money; and thirdly, it made use of small savings.

Councillor Joseph Hudson proposed a vote of thanks to the ladies, which was seconded by Mr. Elliott. In proposing thanks to the chairman Mr. J. Rawlinson, of Bury, gave an account of the success of co-operation in Lancashire. The vote was seconded by Mr. John Howarth, store manager, and heartily accorded.



1862



CHAPTER VII.

Co-operation now Firmly Established—Difficulties Imposed upon Co-operators by Law—How these were Overcome—Commencement of Drapery and Coal Business—The First Check—Parliament Begins to Recognise Co-operation as a Power for Good.

Co-operation having now received the Mayoral blessing, the ecclesiastical benediction, and a public recognition, becomes, now and henceforth, a Bradford institution. As the town has grown so has co-operation developed. There have been times when progress has been slow, no doubt, it may even be said to have stood still, if it may not have receded somewhat for the time, but these hindrances have gradually been overcome until now it has reached such dimensions as to make it the envy of many who never dreamt that the working classes could ever achieve such marvellous results as to become the largest traders in the city.

It would, very likely, be some time before the excitement caused by the great gathering died down, but the minutes give no indication of it, in fact it is never



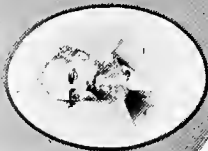
mentioned after the arrangements were made. The committee's hands were full enough, however. Negotiations had been proceeding for some time between the committee of the Provident and the Leeds Flour Mill Society with reference to the supply of flour and other mill products. Letters had passed between Mr. E. Schofield, who had been acting jointly with George Adamson as secretary, and Mr. James Prentis (secretary of the Leeds Society), and eventually it was decided to make purchases through a Mr. Furness, who was a member of both societies. In this we have an instance of that inter-co-operative trading which has done so much to advance the movement from a number of small scattered competing societies into an organisation with world-wide ramifications. It also affords an illustration of the difficulties co-operators had to overcome, some of which had even been imposed by the legislature. This was at a time when the law prohibited a co-operative society from selling its productions to anyone outside its own members. In proof of this it may be mentioned that Mr. John Holmes, one of the speakers at the second annual festival of the Provident Society, stated that his society, "The Leeds Corn Mill Society," which supplied the Bradford societies with flour, had as much as £600 worth of bran in their store-houses which they could do nothing with. The bran had been made in the production of the flour, but because the members did not eat bran, nor had they any other use for it, therefore they had either to give it away for nothing or store it up. They dare not sell it. To overcome this it was arranged that Mr. Furness, being a member of the Leeds Society, should order the flour required by the Bradford



W. LEACH



C. GREENING



TITUS HALL
Secretary



EMANUEL PELLET



JOHN ROWAN
President

THE
OFFICERS AND COMMITTEE
OF THE
Bradford Industrial Co-operative Society
LIMITED
ESTABLISHED SEPTEMBER 1860
Transformed N.Y.S.
Bradford Provident Industrial Society Limited
APRIL 1869
REG. 10011167



W. ROBERTSON



JOSEPH HUGGAN



E. WEBSTER



H. W. LUSH



J. LEACH



Provident Society in his own name, and the account was paid through him. It should be remembered that these were the days before the advent of the Co-operative Wholesale Society and the Co-operative Union. By this time the Provident Society owned four shops, each with a set of committeemen who were under the Board of management, therefore it became necessary that some system should be devised for the proper control of the business. It is with no surprise, therefore, that one reads of the appointment of Thomas Cousen and John Staincliffe as a committee to compile a code of "Regulations to be observed by the Sub-Committees and the Shopmen." These are very elaborate and provide for everything necessary to good management and control, from the provision of a "slate on which the shopman shall enter what goods he shall require for the week not later than six o'clock every Monday night," to the arranging among themselves as to whose turn it should be to assist in the shop on busy nights when the shopman should require extra aid.

Shortly after the great tea development, it was indicated by a resolution that "No. 2 Room be shelved round for drapery goods, and that the secretary and treasurer come into the committee room to do business." It was also decided to organise a series of monthly meetings to be held at the different stores, and following these there is the commencement of the trading in coal. It is interesting to notice the prices:—Best coal, 10s. 10d.; Seconds, 10s.; Adwalton Blocks, 8s. 6d.; and Thirds, 7s. 6d. There is no quantity mentioned for these rates, but two days after accepting this offer of Joshua Clegg, coal merchant, Ben Broadbent proposed

that "parties ordering coals shall pay for 24 cwt. before delivery."

There are other reasons, however, why the year 1862 should be remembered by co-operators, for in that year the movement received its first serious check. The cotton famine and the unsettled political atmosphere in America, which resulted in the war between the North and South, had their effect on the trade of Lancashire, and caused thousands of workers to be out of employment. The co-operative stores, as well as the ordinary shop-keepers, suffered in consequence. The people had no money to spend, therefore the takings at the stores were considerably reduced, but those who had left their dividend in the society to accumulate were better off than the others, for they had something to draw on to tide them over such difficult times. Churches and chapels throughout the country had special collections on behalf of the suffering workers of Lancashire, and to this fund Bradford contributed its share. This advantage, which co-operators had over their fellow workers, of being able to fall back upon their savings in the stores, was not lost sight of by co-operative advocates, with the result that in those districts unaffected by the depression in the cotton industry there was a large increase in the membership of co-operative societies.

There is yet another reason why this particular year should not be forgotten, and that is because of the interest taken in the movement by Parliament. It had been recognised as a power likely to produce great results in the way of enabling the working classes to help themselves, and therefore an Act was passed which removed

certain restrictions which previously had hindered their progress. Writing on this Mr. E. V. Neale says: "It must not be forgotten how the law of England has affected the working classes, that the privileges given them for the first time in 1862 were also granted in the same year, for the first time to the commercial classes." It seems that having granted the protection of limited liability to one class of persons it could not in justice be withheld from another class. The new law enabled one society to take up shares in another society, and therefore did away with the difficulty which had been experienced by the Bradford Provident in regard to the purchase of flour from the Leeds Corn Mill Society already mentioned. It is also due to this Act that the Co-operative Wholesale Society became possible as well as such institutions as the Co-operative Union, the Co-operative Newspaper Society, and the Co-operative Insurance Society. At one time a co-operative society could not purchase or hold more than an acre of land, and that not as house or farm land, but only such as could be used for premises in which the society's business could be transacted. The agitation and discussion in Parliament about the passing of this Act must have had its influence on all co-operative committees. Something of the kind, at any rate, seems to have occurred with the Provident Society for the minutes about this period have a legal colouring about them. One of them states that it was proposed by Mr. E. Schofield, seconded by Mr. John Fieldhouse, that all agreements for the security of shopmen in future be drawn up on a stamped paper in proper legal manner. Then follows a "Memorandum of Papers and Documents in the care of the Trustees."

There was no safe in the possession of the society as yet, and the method of placing all important documents in the care of responsible individuals was the only feasible way, in their opinion, of securing perfect safety. Thus we read "that the fire policy for No. 1 shop, insured for £600; for No. 2 shop, insured for £400; No. 3 shop, insured for £200, be in the care of William Wooller, also the agreement between the Trustees and Joseph Tempest, for the old Wibsey shop, No. 174; also the contract entered into by the Trustees and Benjamin Town, butcher, Manchester Road." Another minute reads:—"Wooller holds Chas. Roberts' promissory note for £2 10s. od."; also "Wooller holds Wm. Hardy's policy; Sowerby Bridge Share Book; the Registrar's Certificate; Settle's security note for £1 5s. od.; and Girlington lease." (This was the site^r for a proposed new store).

William Kitchingman held the guarantee policy of Cornelius Lumb, the first grocery manager, also the agreement of Joseph Womersley, with reference to his security for the situation of secretary.

John Steel held the fire policy for the Bowling shop, which was insured for £200.

The half-yearly meeting, which was held on the 1st of August, saw the resignation of Mr. Thomas Bower, as President, who was succeeded by Mr. George Butler. After the adoption of the report, on the motion of Mr. John Bentley, seconded by Mr. John Saville, it was decided to commence an action against B. Town, the butcher. Following this Mr. Thomas Cousen proposed that the butcher affair be given up. This was seconded by Mr. David Lambert and carried. Whether this means



that the selling of butcher meat was to be given up, or the case against Mr. Town was to be dropped, is not very clear, it is, however, an indication that here as elsewhere the society was meeting with difficulty in the butchering business. It should be noted before leaving this period that although Mr. Bower vacated the chair and a seat on the Board he did not give up all oversight over the affairs of the society, for he was made representative of No. 1 Store (Manchester Road), and in that capacity he exercised a certain amount of control and was able to offer suggestions to the Board as to present and future steps to be taken for the welfare of the society.

When this memorable year closed the Provident Society had a membership numbering 677, being a gain of 206 during the year. The sales amounted to £7703 for the half-year, being an increase of £2929, and the dividend paid was 1s. 3d. in the pound.



1862

		Bowling Old Lane		
	✻	:: Society ::	✻	

CHAPTER VIII.

Formation of Another Society in Bradford—Voluntary Servants—How the Old Laners Got Even with the Travellers—Nicholas Broadley appointed Shopman—
A Sample Order—Names of Principal Workers.

A greater development, however, must not be overlooked, for about this time it is stated a number of the employees at Sir Henry Ripley's works, known locally as "The Dye-hahse," were anxious to share in the good things that were coming to their brethren in the centre of the town, and so they applied to the Provident and also the Great Horton Society, to establish a branch in the neighbourhood of Bowling Old Lane, which at that time was a district all to itself. Neither of the two societies could just then accede to the request, but the committee of the Great Horton Society advised them to form a society of their own and offered to assist them if they decided to do so. This latter course was agreed to, so after many consultations and preliminary meetings sufficient names and capital were forthcoming to enable a start to be made in March, 1862. Rules were drawn up



and the society registered as the "Bowling Old Lane Co-operative Society," and a cottage house, No. 119 Bowling Old Lane, was rented at 5s. per week from Abraham Baxendall. The present tailoring shop at the West Bowling Branch is the identical building in which this start was made. The shop was only opened in the evenings. The back portion of the premises was let off to a Mr. Sawley for 2s. 2d. per week, which reduced their expenses by nearly one-half, and it was not until nearly the end of 1864 that the trade became so large as to necessitate the employment of the whole of the premises. At first the Committee "waited-on" themselves, taking turns at the counter, and one of the earliest minutes decides that not less than two should open the shop. One recoils in dread from the thought of the passing of such a resolution to-day, and yet these old worthies were made of sterling stuff, as the travellers of that day soon found out. Seemingly these gentry had a habit of calling in the shop and asking what the committee were paying for an article, and then offering to cut it a bit lower; but this did not suit the Old Laners, for it is recorded that "no traveller receive an order unless he first gives his price without inquiring our price."

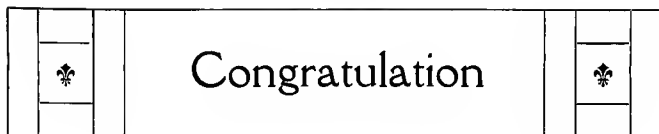
That there was no friction between the Bowling Old Lane Society and the neighbouring societies is evident, for there are many entries of goods purchased from "Horton Co-op." and also from the "Central Stores," by which name the Provident seems to have been indicated. By the end of the first six months the work of "waiting-on" seems to have become too much for the committee, for we find Mr. David Kitchingman moving to "have a shopman

appointed, and that he be paid by poundage." When we note that the takings for the first six months amounted to £651, or an average of over £25 per week, there is no need for surprise at the step proposed to be taken. The first general half-yearly meeting seems to have been of a peculiar, if not a humorous, character, for not only was there a vote of censure passed on the committee, but the very next resolution they decided to "adopt the report and also that the present committee remain in office while their time be expired—while January next." From the early orders we get an idea of the magnitude of the society; one small chest of black tea and about 7 lbs. of green tea; 2 cwt. of Bristle (Bristol) sugar, 2 lbs. of coffee, and 2 lbs. of tobacco; and from the early minutes an idea of the class of men who managed the society: "That Messrs. W. Stainthorpe and James Taylor be appointed to look after the best coffee mill and to lay a report on the same before the committee." After submitting their report, the nature of which, unfortunately, is not recorded, the same gentlemen were empowered to "buy one from about 15s. to 25s., *but it must be a new one.*" There was a true ring about this last instruction—there was to be no second-hand article palmed off on to them. It shows the committee meant well; but on referring to the accounts that coffee mill cost £1 9s. There is no record of this committee being censured for exceeding their instructions. After deciding to have a regular shopman, a special meeting was held to consider "as to the best man as shopman," the result being the appointment of Nicholas Broadley, at the wage of 6d. in the pound, but within a few months it was decided that "Nicholas receive 14s. per week while the

income exceeds £40 per week." Income in this case evidently meaning sales, and as the first six months only showed an average of £25 per week, it seemed as if he would have to wait some considerable time before he need expect a rise in his wages.

It is rather doubtful who was the first secretary, as the minutes are not signed, but there is some evidence to point to a Mr. Joseph Robinson as having occupied that position. He was followed in the office by Mr. William Woodhead. The treasurer, being a more responsible officer, was required by special rule to "throw in £30 (presumably as capital), and to find security for £40." Mr. David Kitchingman accepted this office and was bound for £50, but soon afterwards Mr. Henry Heaton took his place and received 10s. as his "wage" for six months. Among the principal workers in the early stages of the Bowling Old Lane Society may be mentioned Joseph Robinson, Benjamin Robinson, Henry Denning, David Kitchingman, Abram Thornton, William Taylor, William Wroe, Henry Heaton, William Stainthorpe, A. E. Butterworth, Nicholas Broadley, Samuel Emsley, Henry Wilkinson, James Taylor, John Kershaw, William Woodhead, Isaac Naylor, Nathaniel Birkby, and Richard Scholey. The first year's sales amounted to £1297 and the profit to £76.





CHAPTER IX.

Unique Reasons for Taking Shares in the Sowerby
Bridge Flour Society—The New Act of Parliament in
Operation—The Annual Festivals in St. George's Hall
and Temperance Hall—Interesting Records.

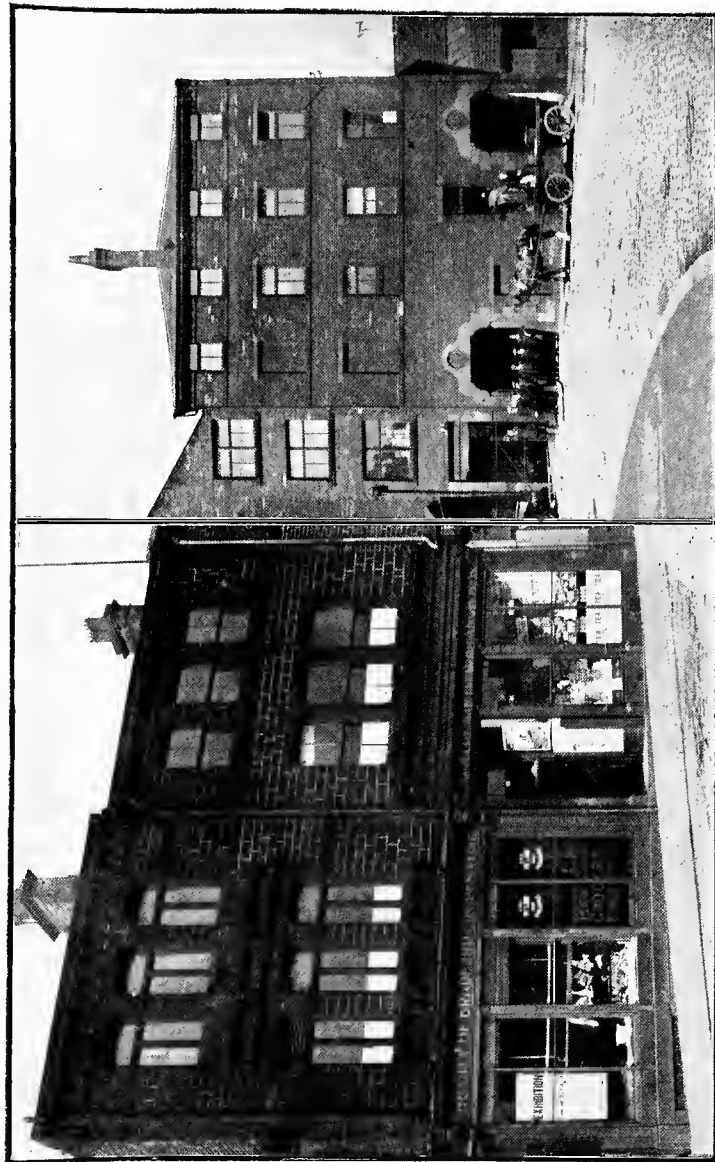
The satisfactory features mentioned at the close of the previous chapter were commented on in the committee's report, which also contains an interesting item worth quoting in these days. "It being an almost indisputed fact that the staple of human food—flour—is grossly adulterated with ingredients destructive to life and health, induced your committee to take up £10 in shares in the Sowerby Bridge Union Flour Mill Society. The flour being such as to recommend itself to lovers of good and wholesome bread, besides bringing in a profit of £44." Here we have the committee justifying the step taken on the basis of the physical and financial benefit to the members, while the next paragraph indicates a further step forward yet fails to convey the information that the one step was dependent on the other. It says, "The last session of Parliament having passed an Act amending the laws

relating to Industrial and Provident Societies, your society has been registered under its provisions. The society is now able to supply nearly every description of drapery goods." Not the slightest suggestion that it was the new Act which enabled them to take up shares in another co-operative society.

The annual festival, which was held on the 28th February, 1863, in St. George's Hall, also bears ample testimony to the progress made during the previous year. Some 800 persons were present at the tea in the afternoon, after which a meeting was held with Ald. Brown in the chair. He was accompanied by the Rev. William Nassau Molesworth, of Rochdale, who had given evidence before the Royal Commission, and on whose report the new Act was framed, Rev. H. J. Burfield, Rev. T. W. Freckleton, Mr. James Law, and Councillor Rawson. The choir of St. James', led by Mr. Barker, sang during the evening.

The secretary, Mr. E. Schofield, read letters of apology from several who could not be present, including Dr. Burnett (the Vicar of Bradford), W. E. Forster, M.P., and Mr. John Holmes, of Leeds. The Vicar wrote that he could not give better advice to the people of Bradford than to urge them to join the society.

Ald. Brown having read the report for the previous half-year, said he wished a copy could be circulated in every working-man's home in Bradford. He was sure if they could but peruse it and consider it in all its bearings they would find something worthy of their notice. The turnover for the past twelve months had amounted to £13,711, he knew many a manufacturer who would be very thankful to do as much in one year. What pleased



The Old Central Premises in Bridge Street, showing the Grocery Warehouse which stands behind them, with the front into Vicar Lane.



him most was that all this had been accomplished by working men whose weekly wages ranged from 15s. to 25s. per week. By putting their wage savings together they had become capitalists. During the past two years they had realised over a thousand pounds clear profit, and had a capital of £1500.

The next speaker was the Rev. W. N. Molesworth, who once more told the story of co-operation as it had developed at Rochdale. Being stationed there he had every opportunity of observing its progress. That it was causing a stir in the world was perfectly evident, he said, for among his visitors was a Professor from a Russian College who was seeking information about the social conditions of working people of the different nations of Europe. He had also been visited by the architect of the French Emperor who had come to learn all about co-operation and had expressed himself as never more gratified with a journey in his life. Before concluding, Mr. Molesworth related how the co-operative societies in Lancashire had been the means of preserving many homes that otherwise would have been broken up owing to the distress caused by cotton famine.

This address occupied over an hour, and still the large audience never wearied, for they listened eagerly to other three addresses; but now in the twentieth century a speaker is instructed to cut his remarks short at fifteen minutes. These early co-operators, however, were seeking social salvation and meant to secure it by their own means.

The Rev. H. J. Burfield, commenting on the above address, said he had not listened to one so full of valuable



information for a long time, and by way of encouragement to the members of the Provident Society, said they had done much better than the Rochdale Society had done, and in proof of this pointed out that at the end of the third year the Rochdale Society had only 80 members, while the Bradford Society had 677. In capital it was the same, Rochdale £250, Bradford £1500; trade at Rochdale, £1924, Bradford, £13,711; and profits, Rochdale, £72, Bradford, £700. These remarks inspired Mr. James Law, who was the next speaker, and who asserted that Bradford had the means to do just as well as Rochdale. Going on to speak of co-operation itself, he said its power could not be exaggerated. There was a time in this country when men were savages and it was only when they began to unite to aid one another in the attainment of a common object that they exhibited their power to advance the well-being and happiness of the community.

The last address was contributed by the Rev. T. W. Freckleton, who asserted the working classes suffered much injury through the small shop-keeper, owing to the comparatively high prices charged for small quantities and also owing to the facility with which they could obtain credit. To combat such a state of affairs he pointed to the benefits of co-operation, which was based on a principle of association, and being a combination of similar interests was therefore a most powerful lever with which the working man might attain his true position of independence.

While the Provident Society was making such headway the Queensgate Society was not standing still. Another branch had been opened. This one being right among the members, viz., in Carlisle Road, Manningham. The



premises, which were neat and commodious, contained accommodation for the store manager to live thereon. The plans were drawn by Mr. W. C. Atkinson, architect, and as showing the value of property at that period the total cost of the buildings, including the land, was only £700. This was probably the first real co-operative property in Bradford, as up till then all the co-operative stores were rented premises. The opening was celebrated on Shrove Tuesday, by a Soiree in the National School, Manningham. About 300 persons partook of tea in the afternoon, and in the evening a public meeting was held, over which Mr. Joseph Hudson, President of the Society, presided. Among the speakers were the Rev. Welbury Mitton, and Messrs. D. Green, of Leeds, B. Wainwright, J. Tweed, C. Jowett, G. Roberts, F. Pellett, and J. Horsfall. Strong sympathy with the objects of the society was expressed, besides which the successful operations of the same furnished abundant testimony to the perseverance and determination of the members to work out their own economic and social salvation.

An important change, however, had taken place in connection with the society which deserves special mention. The opening of branches led to the separation of the offices previously held by Mr. Howarth. At first he was secretary and manager, now Mr. Edmund Gilyard became secretary, and Mr. Howarth having had a good offer outside the movement took it and left their service.

The position of the society was about this time very prosperous, and we learn from the annual festival, which was held in the Temperance Hall, much later, that there were 500 members, with a capital of

£1285; the trade amounted to £3432; and £190 had been paid in dividend.

Mr. Hudson, who presided, said the society had gone from prosperity to prosperity, of which the members could bear testimony. Besides their headquarters in Queensgate they had two branches, one at Dudley Hill and the other at Carlisle Road. While they had hitherto confined themselves to the provision trade they intended to do a little in drapery, but only to a limited extent. The society was now duly registered under the new Act of Parliament, which not only gave legal protection to members, but limited the liability of each. He further explained how it was possible to "eat one's way into the society" by means of the dividend which averaged 1s. 2d. in the pound per quarter.

Councillor Pollard, who followed, remarked that co-operation was no new thing, for it existed in various forms for generations past. He remembered in his earlier days how it used to be common for a number of working men to unite in the purchase of a barrel of herrings and divide them among the subscribers. In the same way chests of tea had been purchased, but in his opinion this later form of co-operation was by far the best, for the benefits to be derived were personal, domestic, and social, and before long they would be found to be national.

Mr. T. C. Farn, of Eccles, also addressed the meeting at some length, and showed how co-operation afforded more important advantages than any other movement, besides which its success had rested entirely on the class for whose benefit it had been started.

Mr. B. Wainwright and Mr. George Roberts also



addressed the meeting, pointing out the obstacles which had prevented the success of co-operative societies in their earlier days and urging upon the workers of the country their duty to make the present attempt more effective by giving it their undivided support.

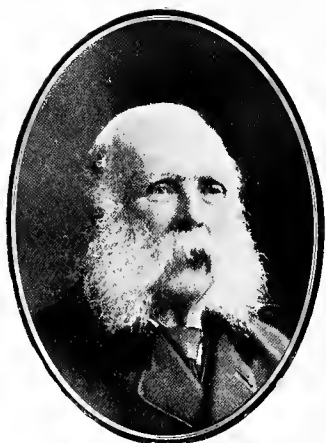
The trend of business in the Provident Society may be gathered from a few extracts from the minute book of 1863. "That the White Abbey shop be made into a lock-up shop as soon as possible." This may mean—in the absence of the true reason being minuted—that either the business had so increased that it was necessary to occupy the whole of the premises for business purposes, or that for other reasons it was desirable to remove the manager and his family from the premises.

Then "That the shops all close at 10 p.m. on Saturdays" ought to convince our present employees that the "good old times" are best left behind.

"That the dead stock be taken off at 10 per cent." shows lack of courage. It should have either been buried or cremated at once.

"That committee have power to open a store in the vicinity of Bolton Road when they obtain a guarantee of 80 members." This indicates progress, and to ensure that guarantee a meeting was held, within a month, in College Chapel School, over which Mr. G. Butler presided. In explaining the reason for the meeting Mr. Butler said it was to give the inhabitants of the locality the opportunity of becoming capitalists and shop-keepers. Mr. Geo. Shutt followed with an instructive address, in which he showed that the co-operative movement was the one destined to raise the working man. Other speakers were Messrs.

PAST PRESIDENTS.



J. M. Stead.



William Cockroft.



Matthew Hopwood.



John Wilson.



Tom Bower and Jesse Stephenson, while Mr. John Bentley so captivated the audience with a co-operative song that sufficient names were secured to form a local committee to canvass the neighbourhood.

Another minute illustrates the point that it is much easier to make laws than to carry them into effect. It reads: "That members buying non-members' checks be excluded from the society, and that notice to that effect be placed in the stores." How many thousands of pounds worth of checks have been purchased since that rule was passed will never be known, but it would not be difficult to state the number of members who have been excluded from the society for purchasing such checks.

Then it is well to know that the same committee who were so strict in regard to checks were also strictly fair in their dealings with others. For instance, it was Mr. Wooller who proposed that "Mrs. Pell have what she charges for washing the slips and dusters." No attempt here to shirk responsibilities.

Having set the machinery in motion at one end of the town it was Mr. Bentley who proposed "to take the Girlington friends into the society and open a store for them as early as possible, but of course subject to the approval of a general meeting." This stirred up the Bolton Road friends, who got it passed that "Messrs. J. Clark, W. Wooller, and David Wilson take a shop for the Bolton Road Store," besides throwing some light on the mode of procedure. As Mr. Clark was not a member of the committee or an official of the society it looks as if he were chosen so that it would not be suspected that the shop was wanted by the Co-operative Society. Eventually



a shop belonging to a Mr. John Illingworth was taken for five years at a rent of £15 per year, clear of rates. This affords some idea of the growth and importance of the city since then, for the rates of the now Bolton Road Store will be more than both rates and rent together at that time.

Another minute enables us to see what an advance has been made in regard to the employees, for it was decided. "to close all the shops at one o'clock on Whit Monday and also at the same time on Whit Tuesday."

The following is the only minute recorded for a particular date, but can hardly be taken as the only business done on that occasion, and yet it stands alone duly signed by the President. "Proposed by B. Broadbent, seconded by George Horner, that large placards be placed in the stores with 'No Smoking Allowed' printed on." Whether this can be taken as applying to the customers or the employees is not clear, still the majority of customers would be females, and surely it could not be for them. It may, however, have been to show that a meeting had been held, as this is the only indication that such was the case. There is yet another view that may be taken of it, and that is that it is an indication that all was well with the society, and there was nothing of importance to record.

If matters were very quiet as mentioned above, it was not for long, for great changes followed the half-yearly meeting. This was held on August, 7th, 1863, in the Mechanics' Institute. Mr. George Butler presided. He expressed his pleasure and satisfaction on being able to congratulate the members on the high position the society had attained in the borough.



Mr. E. Schofield, who along with Mr. Geo. Shutt had been acting as secretary, read the report, which showed that 272 new members had joined since the December quarter, and as only four had left there were now 935 on the books. These held 1829 shares. Two new stores had been opened in the growing neighbourhoods of Girlington and Otley Road, and a boot department added; though the foundation of the society had been widened and strengthened it should not be forgotten that this could not have been done without some degree of self-denial at the time. The committee had made a point of supplying the best articles in the market, so that if the profits were less according to the sales they had reaped a benefit in the improved quality of the goods. The sales had amounted to £8244, and the profits to £400, which allowed a dividend of 1s. in the pound, 5 per cent. had been paid for interest and 10 per cent. taken for depreciation. After the adoption of the balance sheet Mr. John Haigh proposed that the Trustees be retained. It had, at the previous meeting of the committee, been decided to ask that they be dispensed with, but the members decided otherwise. It was next decided to have a permanent secretary. Mr. John Bentley was elected President, and Mr. David Wilson Treasurer, while the Auditors, Mr. J. Womersley and Mr. J. E. Allison, were re-elected.

It was decided, at the following meeting of the committee to appoint Mr. John Cheetham as secretary at 26s. per week, with a guarantee of £200, his duties being to "keep to his books until they were in such a state as he should be satisfied with them, then he was to help in the transfer of goods on transfer days."



Within three months Mr. John Bentley was elected secretary, he having to take full responsibility and find his own assistants, but whether this was out of the 26s. is not stated, as there is no mention of wage.

Edward Fletcher was soon afterwards appointed boot and shoe maker at a wage of 22s. per week. His duties entailed, besides his ordinary work, that he should attend every Friday from 7.30 p.m. to 8.30 p.m. at White Abbey Store for the purpose of measuring customers and taking orders.



1864

	Amalgamation Proposed		
❧			❧

CHAPTER X.

First Proposals towards Amalgamation—Reason for its Rejection—Annual Report of the Provident Society—Political Power advised as Necessary — Prominent Co-operators and Politics—Early Closing of Shops.

Just before the close of the previous year Mr. Wooller proposed a resolution which was the beginning of a long-drawn-out series of resolutions and meetings, both ordinary and special, and which eventually led to one of the most important steps in the history of the society. The exact wording was as follows: "That this committee recognises the desirability of an amalgamation of this society with the Queensgate Society." Having been seconded by Mr. Duke Fearnley it was agreed to.

With the advent of the New Year this was followed by another very essential resolution to the following effect: "That a meeting be called of our members to see if it be agreeable to amalgamate with the Queensgate Society." But when this special meeting was held, and the question was considered, it was

seen that there were two sides to the matter, and so it was adjourned to the next half-yearly meeting. Before this came round the committee discussed the matter again, and decided to make an offer to the Queensgate Society to take all their goods at a fair market price including fixed stock. That these terms be offered if it was found that amalgamation could not be done legally without dissolving one or both societies.

At the half-yearly meeting it was agreed that the two societies should amalgamate if it could be done on fair and equitable terms, and also that the committee be empowered to carry out the same. After further consideration it was wisely agreed that a suggested tea party to celebrate the event should be left over till the amalgamation was an accomplished fact.

Negotiations would certainly follow, but the minutes throw very little light upon them. There are two references, one stating that the rules agreed upon by a majority of both committees should be accepted, then the other is a surprise, for it declares that no notice should be taken of a letter received by Mr. Shaw (a member of the committee) with reference to the amalgamation, which had been sent by Mr. Hudson, President of the Queensgate Society.

There is, however, a letter in existence which throws some light on the matter. It is from Mr. John Howarth, stating that Mr. Edmund Gilyard, secretary of the Queensgate Society, called upon him in York to discuss matters appertaining to the Queensgate Society. It seems the committee were having some difficulties in regard to the management. Mr. Howarth says he advised amalgamation



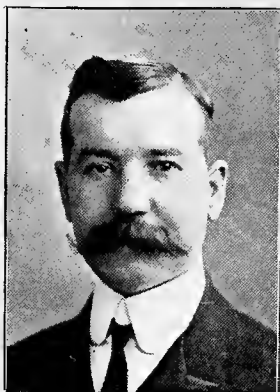
as the best solution, with the result that the Queensgate Society obtained a proper valuation of the affairs of the society, when it was found that the society was above £100 to the good after paying 20s. in the pound.

This put so much heart into the committee of this society that they decided to go on as they were and drop all idea of amalgamation, while the Provident decided not to entertain the question again for six months.

When the committee of the Provident Society found there was no likelihood of amalgamation taking place they decided to go on with their annual festival, which had been delayed until the two societies became one. St. George's Hall being engaged as a theatre at the time, it was decided to take Horton Lane Schools. After the usual tea in the afternoon a public meeting was held in the evening, over which Councillor Whitehead presided. Accompanying him on the platform were the Rev. Dr. Campbell (Congregational Minister), the Rev. G. Onions, Ald. Carter, and Councillor Gaunt, of Leeds, and Mr. James Wood (Sowerby Bridge Flour Society).

Mr. J. Bentley (Secretary) read a statement showing the progress of the society during the three months previous. There were 960 members, with a capital of £2830, while the trade for the period amounted to £5508. A letter was read from the Rev. H. Leach expressing his regret at absence and stating the opinion that all who wished well to the working classes would rejoice in any plan which had a tendency towards prudent and thrifty habits, and which enabled men to derive some of the advantages of capital from the investment of well-earned wages, and which would give that yet deeper interest in the national

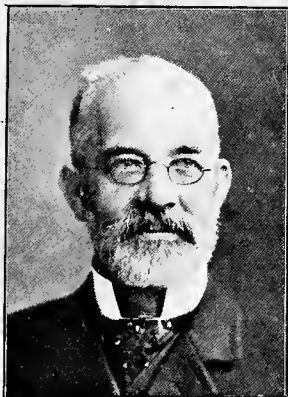
DIRECTORS.



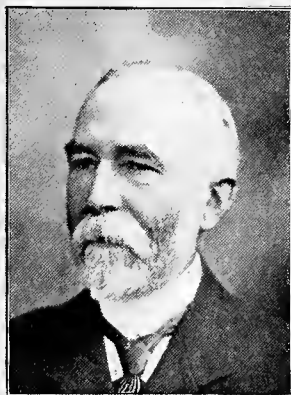
F. DENMAN
(President).



J. BENNETT
(Secretary).



G. H. HOPKINSON
(Treasurer).



J. P. HENRY
(Grocery Manager).



welfare which a substantial stake in the country naturally produces.

The Rev. G. Onions warned the members, first, that in seeking to extend the principle of co-operation they would have against them nearly all the aristocratic influence of the country, therefore he urged them to seek political power in order to cope with that opposition; secondly, he warned them against intoxicating drink, which was their enemy.

The Chairman said, as an employer of labour, there was not the slightest jealousy on their part with co-operation or any institution which sought to improve the lot of the workers.

Dr. J. R. Campbell, in an eloquent address, pointed out that co-operation was as much a law of nature as self-preservation, and that it was calculated to teach man industry, forethought, and economy, and his duty to his neighbour.

The other speakers followed on familiar lines, but not a word was said about amalgamation.

It was not necessary to wait long for an illustration of how the advice of the Rev. G. Onions was taken, and it may be interesting to present-day co-operators to learn that the affairs of their society did not absorb the whole of the time of the committees of that day, and that they took no little part in public affairs of the times. An instance of this is given when on the occasion of the laying of the foundation stone of the Exchange Buildings, in Market Street, the working class held a meeting to protest against the choice of Lord Palmerston to perform that duty. Finding they were too late to stop that, a public

meeting was held for the purpose of briefly reviewing Lord Palmerston's representative policy, and of considering in what manner the unenfranchised working class of this great manufacturing community ought to receive him on his approaching visit, and to determine what steps should be taken by them to undeceive him as to the supposed apathy and carelessness of the people on the important question of Parliamentary Reform.

At this meeting a number of prominent co-operators took a leading part, and agreed with the proposal to pledge themselves to observe a dignified, but significant abstinence from all enthusiastic cheering, but when it was proposed to present an address, couched in respectful but firm tone, embodying their dissatisfaction at his political immorality and injustice to the workers in regard to the franchise, Mr. Malcolm Ross proposed an amendment with reference to the address, stating it would be better to see that they sent men to Parliament who would not betray them. The amendment was defeated, but the civic authorities and officials of the Chamber of Commerce refused permission for the presentation of the address. The main fact to notice is the prominent part taken by co-operators in what was a burning political question of the day, without any danger to the societies represented by them.

Among the remaining items recorded before the close of the year were the closing of the shops at half-past eight on Thursdays, and at half-past nine on Fridays; and the taking of a new shop for White Abbey at the rent of 6s. per week without rates, the society to pay for the necessary alterations. Besides which the half-yearly report for



December 31st, 1864, congratulates the members on the position of the society. The sales had amounted to £12,532 and the profits were £593, which allowed a dividend of 1s. in the pound. It refers to the want of adequate shop accommodation at Girdlington, to obviate which land had been purchased at a cost of £98, on which a store and cottages would be erected and probably be ready for occupation the following May. They also point out that since the society started, four years previously, the members had received no less than a sum of £3088 in return for their loyalty, which, of course, was part of an appeal for further loyalty.



1865

Internal Changes

CHAPTER XL

Return of John Howarth to Bradford and of Tom Bower to the Board of Management Produces Effects—New Leakage System Adopted, and Its Effects—Novel Method of Electing a Committee at Bowling Old Lane.

With the opening of 1865, new life seems to have taken hold of co-operation in Bradford. Several things conspired, as it were, to quicken the actions of the various committees who managed the three societies. Perhaps one of the most important events was the return of Mr. John Howarth to Bradford on his appointment as superintendent of the new Corporation Baths. Shortly after his arrival he was approached by the officers and several members of his old society (the Queensgate), who begged him to once more join the committee, and to help them to put matters straight, as the affairs seemed to be going all wrong. This he eventually did, and was immediately elected president. In that capacity he set about paving the way for what he considered the only solution to the difficulties which faced the members of the Queensgate Society—amalgamation with the Provident Society.



In the meantime the Provident Society had received additional strength through the return of Mr. Tom Bower on the committee, and various matters began to receive attention which had a material effect on the society. The question of "Leakage" came to the front, the system of "Check-boy" was adopted, and a demand for a revision of the rules given effect to. The Manchester Road Store also was made into a Central Store, for a period no doubt, while the Bridge Street Stores were being erected.

Special committees were appointed to visit the various stores at any time they chose and afterwards to report to the full committee. In place of the shopman finding a security or bond through a guarantee society it was decided that the names of two respectable householders would be sufficient. The old sub-sectional committees were done away with, and the sub-secretary given power to receive contributions and to purchase checks from the members.

Whether it was that the new "leakage" regulations were felt to be oppressive on the employees or not is not clear, but quite an exceptional number of vacancies occurred on the staff just after the raising of the question. Another matter referring to the employees at this period was the great number of changes which occurred, and also the fact that these vacancies were filled by men from Manchester, Rochdale, Huddersfield, and Sowerby Bridge. If the committee were more alive to their duties in regard to the employees at this period they did not forget to legislate for themselves, for they passed a resolution that no new business should be taken after 10 o'clock and also that the roll should be called at 8.30 p.m. Among the

DIRECTORS.



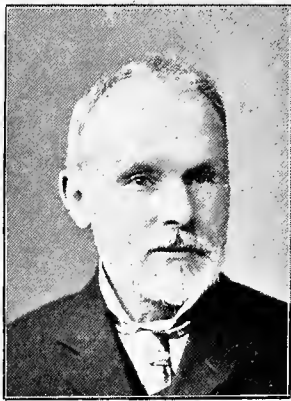
B. TATE.



J. BALDWIN.



S. RICHARDSON.



J. MORRELL



numerous changes noted is that of John Bentley from secretaryship to manage the Otley Road Store, from which he was later removed to the Manchester Road Store to assist Mr. Settle. Then John Normington was made clerk to the society; no doubt this is simply the filling-up of the post occupied by Mr. Bentley. This arrangement did not last above a month, for a minute states that Francis Schofield was appointed clerk to the society at 24s. per week, but before the end of the year the position was again given to George Shutt, who had held the post in conjunction with Edward Schofield some time previously. Besides these there were changes almost all round. The new rules also made changes: the committee were in future to be known as directors, and the meeting fixed their fees at 6d. per night.

In trade matters it was arranged that the large room above the White Abbey Store should be fitted up as a drapery store.

All these changes had their effect on the society, and in one of their reports during the year the directors expressed their regret that the withdrawals of capital had exceeded the contributions. This they had no hesitation in attributing to the changes among the servants, but which they maintained could not be avoided, however wishful they might have been to do so.

The report for the close of the year, however, was in a much more hopeful tone, and afforded the directors pleasure and indicated marked progress and prosperity. This time the contributions exceeded the withdrawals by a large amount, which the directors took to be a mark of confidence. The sum standing to the credit of the members



had increased by nearly a thousand pounds during the year, while the dividend, which in the first half only amounted to ninepence in the pound, once more reached the shilling ; therefore they had every reason to feel that the tide which seemed to be setting against them had turned at last, and they looked forward to the new year with confidence.

The year 1865 seems to have been rather uneventful with the young Bowling Old Lane Society. It made progress, it is true, but on lines of their own devising. One of the first resolutions agreed to in the year was " That the Committee be chosen off the book, and those who will not stand be fined a shilling, and that the fine goes to the Committee for wages." At the commencement of the Society it had been decided that the Committee should give their services gratuitously. Evidently there must have been a difficulty in getting individuals to act on the Committee, still it seems rather a novel way of selecting persons to manage a commercial undertaking, for if the first ten names called accepted office then there would be no wage for any of them. This seems to have been found out, for after a trial it was upset and a lump sum was granted to be divided among them. The main business seemed to be the arranging of tea parties, for they had several in the year, and judging by the entries in the cash book would have an average attendance of about 150. Nothing is mentioned about where they were held, but it is almost without doubt that the old school room, which stands immediately opposite the tailoring department in Bowling Old Lane, would be the place. If these old walls could speak what a tale they would unfold, for not only the

teas, but all the general meetings of the district were held there.

The minutes supply some information as to how these teas were conducted. The one at the beginning of the year was called a first-class tea, and for which the tickets were charged 9d. There were to be five trays under the charge of Ada Thornton, Emma Denning, Hannah Butterworth, Mary Birkby, and Sarah Taylor. The list of speakers, however, fairly staggers, especially bearing in mind that one is often considered too many in these days. These were :—the Vicar of Bradford (the Rev. Dr. Burnett), Rev. T. W. Freckleton (Unitarian), Rev. T. A. Stowell (Vicar of St. Stephen's), James Wilkinson, and C. Pollard. Whether this combination was the result of broad-minded views on the part of the Committee, or whether it was that each denomination was represented on the Committee and each wanted his own parson, or whether it was with a view to attract a large audience, the minutes do not indicate, but whatever the reason it shows the cosmopolitan nature of co-operation. One thing the records do show, and that is that a profit was made. It is true it was a small one, only 1s. 11d., still that was on the right side of the ledger, and many societies to-day would be pleased even with a similar result, for somehow they are not expected to pay now, and the difference between income and expenditure is looked upon as an investment in propagandism. An indication of growth, however, may be seen in the fact that early in the year the Society decided to join the Halifax Corn Mill Society, and also to occupy the whole of the cottage house which had been taken as a shop, and to utilise it in selling drapery and



hardware. It has already been mentioned that a Mr. Sawley occupied the back room of the premises, and that only the front room was used for the shop. The report at the end of the year stated that the sales had amounted to £1676, and the bonus and interest paid to £113.



1866

		Shortage of Capital	
	✻		✻

CHAPTER XII.

Conflicting Resolutions—Edward Schofield appointed Secretary—Methods Adopted to Increase Capital—Shares taken up with the North of England Co-operative Society — Amalgamation again Rejected, and Why

With the New Year 1866 there seems to have been no slackening down from the activity commenced the previous year, judging by the number of resolutions passed at each meeting. Previously a single minute often sufficed for a whole meeting, but now anything from a dozen to over a score are recorded each evening. It may be true that they have not all the same relative value, or that they do not indicate real progress, for several times a resolution was passed at the beginning of a meeting only to be rescinded before the close, leaving the question where it originally stood. Still it was something gained to have had the matter discussed. An instance of this character, and also of the difficulty of finding out where the society stood with regard to certain questions, occurred at this time, and is recorded as follows: "Proposed by Mr. Thomas Bower,

seconded by Mr. John Cooke, that the check system be adopted and made more effective."

"Proposed by Messrs. Hartley and Breaks, that no check system be adopted." Both these resolutions were adopted.

Now, are we to conclude from this extract that during this period the society had been run without a check system? Surely not, for all the balance sheets up till then had contained the well-known notice requesting the members to "have their tin checks changed into copper pound checks as soon as convenient, but not on Fridays or Saturdays." Therefore we can only assume that this was some new system of checks which Mr. Bower was anxious to introduce, for this is not the only time a discussion on that matter took place either at that period or since, as will be seen later.

Again, many of these resolutions are like a return to a former time near to the start of the society, when every purchase was recorded. In these minutes are many references to the purchase of pigs from the members of the society, and nearly every transaction required two motions, one for a committee of inspection, and another for the acceptance of the offer and stating the particular store to which the carcase should be sent.

Early on in the year Mr. Shutt resigned his secretaryship, which was handed over to Mr. Edward Schofield, who held it for many years afterwards. At the same meeting, too, an arbitration committee was elected, under the new Act of Parliament, which consisted of Alderman Brown, R. Kell, Esq., J.P., Councillors Pollard and Cole, and Mr. W. Sugden.



One thing stands out prominently during the major portion of the year, viz., "shortage of capital," which was caused, no doubt, by the erection of the stores and cottages at Girlington and at White Abbey, the former of which cost over £1000, and the latter over £900. Various methods were attempted to get over the difficulty. The members were asked to increase their shares, and to encourage them to do so the interest was fixed at 6 per cent., while loans were asked for at 5 per cent. Although a certain amount came in this way it was not sufficient, and several resolutions bear on the matter, one of which authorised a sub-committee to raise £600 on the Girlington Estate through the Building Society. Eventually a private mortgage was effected with a Mr. Womersley for £500, which relieved the pressure for the time being.

About this time the annual festivals of both societies seem to have been discontinued, and in their place district teas and meetings were held. Two are recorded, one for each society. That for the Provident was held in the Bowling district, but seemed to have been a failure, financially, for a minute states that it was decided to make up the deficiency out of the funds of the society. The tea-party in connection with the Queensgate Society was held in the Independent School, Listerhills, and was presided over by Mr. H. W. Lush (president of the society). The addresses were given by Messrs. Wainwright and George Roberts.

It is probable that these district teas were only substitutes on a small scale pending the great tea which was to celebrate the amalgamation whenever it came off; or it may be that both societies, being somewhat short of

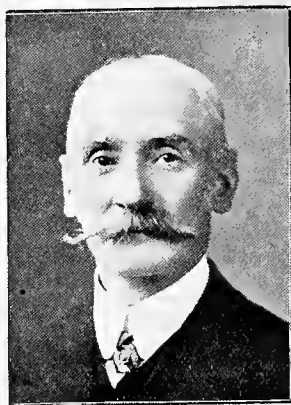
DIRECTORS.



J. MALLISON.



H. HODGSON



H. SEWELL.



W. MAYNARD.



capital, were in a mind to be content with local speakers, thus saving the expense of bringing leaders in the movement from either Manchester or Rochdale.

There is one important matter, however, which stands out prominently and must not be omitted. At a special meeting, held after the quarterly meeting at which the arbitrators were appointed, the question arose as to whether the society should join the North of England Co-operative Society (now known as the Co-operative Wholesale Society). Mr. John Haigh proposed, and Mr. Joseph Womersley seconded, that the question should stand over for three months. This having been defeated, Mr. Bradley proposed, and Mr. Lightfoot seconded, that twenty shares be taken in the North of England Society, which was agreed to. The next resolution decided that Messrs. Blakey (president), E. Schofield (secretary), and Bower, Waddington, and Aveyard (directors) be nominated to take four shares each for the Provident Society in the North of England Society. Thus showing the method which had to be adopted in those days with regard to the investment of co-operative capital in a co-operative concern.

During the whole of this year the question of the amalgamation of the two societies kept cropping up from time to time. At the May quarterly meeting of the Provident Society it was decided that the amalgamation was desirable, and that it be left in the hands of the committee. In accordance with this resolution, and with a view to its accomplishment, the committee had the property and fixed stock of the society valued by competent authorities and requested a large attendance of members at the August

quarterly meeting, so as to come to a final decision on the matter. It was accordingly arranged that both societies should meet on the same evening, but not together. Consequently both meetings were held on Tuesday evening, August 7th.

The Industrial Society's members met at their central premises in Queensgate. The report, stating that the sales amounted to £3860, and contributions to £53, was adopted, and it was thereupon decided to pay a dividend of 2s. 11d. in the pound on the purchases, and to place £50 in reserve for the new society, and also that the amalgamation with the Provident be carried through.

While this was going on in Queensgate, the Provident members were discussing their own report in the Mechanics' Institute. The quarter's sales were stated to have amounted to £6083, but the dividend recommended by the directors only amounted to 9d. in the pound. Whether the latter fact had anything to do with it or not cannot be stated now, but the fact remains that the members decided to reject the scheme for amalgamation.

Now, then, this information having been conveyed across to the Queensgate members, they immediately rescinded their previous resolution and decided that the dividend to be paid should only be 1s. and that the balance of 1s. 11d. in the pound be placed to the reserve fund. Thus ended another attempt at amalgamation.

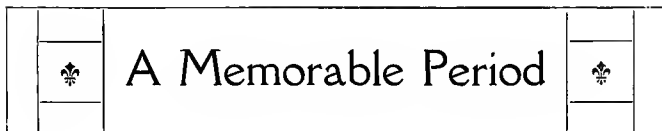
Before the end of the year, and in response to an application from a number of persons residing in the New Leeds district, a new store was opened there at a rent of £24 per year, which more than fulfilled expectations, as the business done amounted to £50 per week. There were now



seven branch stores in existence. The trade for the whole year amounted to £24,767, the White Abbey store heading the list with a turnover of £1813 for the quarter. The average dividend for the four quarters works out to 11½d. in the pound.



1867-68



CHAPTER XIII.

New Central Premises, also New Slaughterhouse and Stables—Members Take Political Action, but Reject Proposal for Co-operative Education—Opening of New Central Premises in Bridge Street—Amalgamation Completed—Bowling Old Lane Society Advances.

The next year, 1867, owing to the increase in the number of branches, brought to light the necessity for a central store from which the branches could be supplied with goods. The members had already given their sanction to the proposal, but stipulated that they should be consulted before a purchase was made. In due course some property in Bridge Street was offered and accepted by the members. The front portion was made into a store, while the back was fitted up as a warehouse with accommodation for weighing, checking, and storing goods ready for transfer to the branches.

About the same time the sale of butcher's meat was once more introduced into the stores, and so successful did it become this time that soon the society was selling from two to three beasts and about a dozen sheep or pigs per

week. The next step in this direction was a demand for a slaughterhouse. This, combined with the necessity of having the stables nearer to the new central warehouse than Marshall Street, where they were, led to the proposal to provide accommodation for both together, which matured in the purchase of land in Upper Sturgess Street, on which a slaughterhouse, stables, and two cottages were erected at a cost of £500.

Other changes were effected, such as the issue of half-yearly balance sheets in place of quarterly, also the reduction in the amount of the members' first contribution from 5s. to one of 1s.

Although it had been decided some months previously to join the North of England Co-operative Society, it seems such had never been carried out, and the matter was again placed on the agenda. After discussion it was agreed, this time, to take up 1000 shares, the previous resolution was for twenty shares, and it is evident the meeting thought the shares were of one pound each, but now it had been found the shares were five shillings each, hence the increased investment. It therefore appears on the next balance sheet as an investment of £50.

It is interesting to note that politics were not always tabooed at the meetings of the members and active spirits in connection with the society. This year affords another instance. The period may be recalled by older persons as one of extreme political feeling. Parliamentary Reform was the burning question of the day, and leading co-operators were not afraid of letting their position be known in regard to the matter. The advice given by the Rev. G. Onions, and previously referred to, was taken on



more than one occasion. This time it was decided by the society to send a petition to the House of Commons praying that persons having £50 in a co-operative society should be entitled to vote for Members of Parliament. The matter did not end there, however, for when an advertisement appeared in the *Bradford Observer* inviting Trade Unionists and Co-operators to attend a meeting in the Mechanics' Institute, to take part in a demonstration in favour of the Reform Bill, the society was directly represented by the leading men of the society, and, further, they took part as co-operators in the great procession which left Bradford and marched to Woodhouse Moor, Leeds, and, in order that the assistants should not be prevented from attending, the shops were all closed for the day with that object in view. Such facts are worth remembering in these days when the slightest reference to politics gets on the nerves of otherwise sane and steady co-operators.

It is strange, however, that these brave spirits, who were not afraid to show their political leanings, and who were in the very front of the agitation for the enfranchisement of the people, and with the full sanction of the members, bear in mind, were unable to carry these same members with them in a desire to afford them means for studying politics for themselves by means of the provision of newsrooms above the stores. A proposal to supply such means of education to the members was defeated at the same half-yearly meeting.

It was well into September that the directors, several ex-directors, and employees, to the number of about 70, formally celebrated the opening of the new premises in

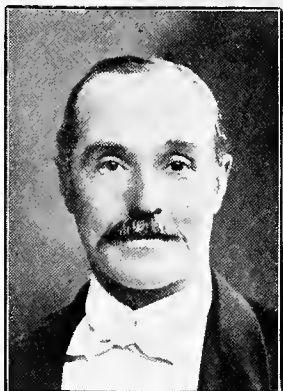


Bridge Street. Tea was provided in the large room over the store, after which, Mr. C. Blakey took the chair and congratulatory addresses were delivered. The Chairman emphasised the fact that a long felt want had been supplied, and Mr. Tom Bower recounted the story of the history and progress of the society, a theme he was never weary of. He summed up the position by stating that the profits which had been distributed amounted to a sum of £6033, and besides which the members had received in interest a sum which exceeded the total share capital of the society by £424.

Mr. Samuel Northam (director) showed how co-operation could be carried on with advantage in all kinds of manufacturing industries, and by such means the blessings of wealth and education be more widely diffused among the industrial classes. The other speakers included Messrs. J. Bentley (employee), D. Wilson (treasurer), and J. Shackleton (auditor).

A full account of the proceedings appears in the *Bradford Observer* of that date, to which we are indebted for this report, otherwise the only references in the minutes to the affair are of a preliminary character, such as the decision to hold such a meeting, and who should be invited to it. It may be interesting to note, however, the "keen business ability" exhibited even in such a simple affair, for it was decided that each person coming to the tea-party would be expected to contribute their share towards the expenses; and further "that tickets be sent to the local papers inviting them to the tea party so as to secure a report of the proceedings." Evidently it was intended that the opening of the new premises should

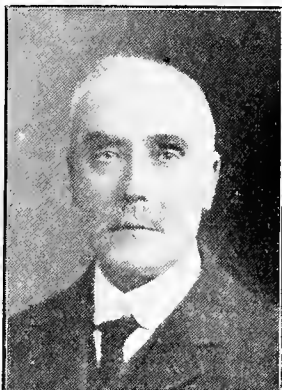
DIRECTORS.



J. GUY.



J. SENIOR



E. HARGREAVES



E. SMITH.



not cost the society anything. It was rather the other way, for they secured a half-column advertisement free.

The year ended with a record of sales amounting to £33,811, and an average dividend of 11d. in the pound. Such success was regarded by the directors in their report as not only satisfactory but remarkable, and they were fully justified in so doing when it is remembered the few years that had elapsed since the society started.

“ Another memorable period ” must be the description given to the year 1868 which, following the old adage, though beginning badly still had a good ending, as it saw the completion of the long-looked-for and much-discussed amalgamation between the Queensgate and the Provident Societies. With regard to the last-named society itself, while steady progress was made in the shape of increased sales and membership (the latter showing an addition of 388) during the year, the dividends would nowadays be considered very unsatisfactory, seeing the first half-year only paid 8d. in the pound and the second half-year 9d. in the pound.

The story of the amalgamation is a long one. By the preceding pages it will be found that at different times first one society decided in its favour while the other rejected the scheme, then later on the positions were reversed, and so the question was kept dragging slowly along over years in place of weeks. At length on Monday evening, November 2nd, 1868, a deputation consisting of Messrs. J. Howarth, J. Hudson, and Charles Greening attended before the Board of the Provident Society and said that owing to the affairs of the Queensgate Society being in a serious condition they, the deputation, had

taken it upon themselves to wait upon the Provident Society's Board to see if it was possible to turn over the members and business of their society to them.

The deputation was received cordially, and upon withdrawing it was remarked by one of the Provident Society's directors that had the deputation not come it had been his intention to have brought the matter before them.

After some discussion it was agreed to accept the Queensgate Society's members, along with their liabilities and assets, on the condition that they were worth 20s. in the pound. The Provident Society's directors decided to submit this resolution to the members at the monthly meeting following, but owing to the excitement over the general elections there was such a small attendance that it was thought better not to do so.

In the meantime the Queensgate Society held a special meeting, at which it was decided to stop all withdrawal of capital and thus to give a moral assurance to the Provident Society that they meant business this time.

At a further meeting full powers were given to the committee of the Queensgate Society to complete all the necessary arrangements. When this information was conveyed to the Provident Society's directors they called a special meeting of their members, who decided that the sooner the matter was completed the better, and immediately elected Messrs. W. Wooller, J. Hawksby, J. S. Waddington, and J. Ramsden as a committee to meet with a similar number of the other side. These turned out to be Messrs. J. Howarth, J. Hudson, H. W. Lush, and Thomas Leach. In the end it was found that the Queensgate members had to pay 5s. per share to make up



their deficiencies, at which Mr. Howarth, who had engineered the whole affair throughout, said they were thankful to get off with so little. The papers were duly signed by the two presidents, Joseph Helliwell and John Howarth, and Edward Schofield and Titus Hall, the two secretaries. Thus the two streams that had run side by side for eight years became merged into one. There was still the Bowling Old Lane Society outside, but it was a long time before any thought of amalgamation was raised with them. The "Old Laners" were a class unto themselves and only came into Bradford on Saturdays and holidays, so it was said.

But for all that the Old Laners were making progress; they had outgrown their premises, and old Nicholas Broadley had had his wages increased to 19s. per week, besides having the assistance of a Committee-man on two nights a week. Even with the addition of that portion which at first had been let to Mr. Sawley, they were cramped for room at nights and the members were complaining of being "daubed" with flour when a customer, who had been purchasing that necessary commodity, passed them. Another reason for taking action was that capital had grown as well as trade, and the Committee were exercised what to do with it. In this dilemma they followed their usual course and arranged a tea party at which the matter was discussed. The momentous question was settled by David Kitchingman proposing "That we build a shop for our own use." This was seconded by old Nicholas, and agreed to. Messrs. David Kitchingman, Isaac Naylor, and William Stainthorpe were appointed to look out for a convenient place.

After a search lasting several months some old property was discovered across the way from their own shop. After the Sub-Committee had given their report a resolution was carried which shows the cautious character of these Old Laners—"That we buy all the four houses if possible, but if not that we buy the three lowest with sufficient ground, and inquire if we are to make the other property good if we only get the three." It was evidently old property, and these cautious men were afraid that if they began pulling down the three houses which they needed, the fourth might come down of its own accord and so land them in difficulties. Between the date of this resolution and the actual completion of the scheme there were many stages, all of which are interesting in their way, as they showed unforeseen difficulties which presented themselves one after another, but being met resolutely by these old dyers and weavers were one by one overcome.

To purchase the houses alone would not have been sufficient for their purpose, therefore, in addition, they secured twenty yards of land at the back of the houses. It was a portion of an estate known as "Nine Days' Work" and belonged to Edward Balme Wheatley Balme, Esq., of Dewsbury. The idea embodied in the name given to the field was that it required nine days to mow it; one looks in vain for such a field to-day. The present No. 39 branch stands upon the site of the cottages, which were in a line with the present old school in Bowling Old Lane. Messrs. Stainthorpe and Kitchingman were despatched to Dewsbury on October 3rd, 1867, to "make the best bargain they could with regard to the conveyance of the deeds." They soon found, however, that their troubles were only

beginning, for the legal advisers of the property owners pointed out that, according to the rules of the Society, the Committee had no power to purchase land in the name of the Society.

A special meeting of the members was called to consider the matter, and it was decided to write Mr. J. Tidd Pratt, Registrar of Friendly Societies, for advice. The answer received was that it would be necessary to revise and amend the rules, taking power to purchase land in the new rules. While this was being done they wrote to the Solicitors at Dewsbury explaining the position of affairs, and that they were taking the necessary steps to amend the rules. That they had no doubt as to their ability to overcome their difficulty seems abundantly clear, for they immediately gave the tenants of the four houses six months' notice to quit, and during the time they were to pay their rents fortnightly. Other steps taken show that they meant their education in this matter to be complete, for they purchased a copy of the Landlord and Tenant Act, also a Seal for the Society, to be in readiness to stamp the deeds when they got them. But it was not until October 9th, 1868, that the purchase was completed, exactly twelve months after the first deputation had gone to Dewsbury on that errand. This second deputation consisted of Timothy Fell (President) and John Rushforth. Besides paying for the property, they had a sum of £12 2s. 5d. to pay as interest due for the time occupied in altering the rules. By this time the Society was doing a trade of over £2000 per year.



near the centre of the town. The exodus to the outskirts had already commenced and has been going on ever since, having only been accelerated by the advent of the trams more recently, therefore as it was not required it was promptly closed. The other three branches, Carlisle Road, Listerhills, and Ellen Street, were added to the eight branches of the Provident Society and were numbered nine, ten, and eleven respectively. Beyond the painting of the new name very little else was done to the premises.

A serious difficulty arose, however, with the older employees, which no doubt was increased, for the time being, by the sudden addition of the new employees. It was through an attempt to fix a scale of wages based on the adoption of a "Leakage System" under a bond. Scarcely a meeting passed for many months without some reference being made in some form or other. It was a difficult problem and required tact and patience. Meeting after meeting, the bulk of the time was taken up with various store managers and their bonds, who resented the innovation. Some signed at once, but there were others who objected to particular clauses, and each came before the Board to argue the point. Eventually matters were arranged, but not before leaving a mark on the personnel of the staff.

Other matters, too, occupied the attention of the Directors, not exactly of a co-operative character. These were stirring times politically, it should be remembered, and Bradford had become notorious through the unseating of Mr. Ripley, who had been successful in the Parliamentary election a few months previously. The Commission which tried the case found that there had been bribery.

Mr. Ripley was therefore unseated, and a new election followed. The fire of excitement, which had scarcely had time to die out, burst out afresh, involving the whole community in a fierce and angry fight. It could scarcely be imagined that the men who were in the forefront of social reform would pass through the fray without taking some action in it, and their names find a place in the newspaper records of the times. But this, of course, was in their individual capacity. It did not end there by any means. The first intimation, from a co-operative standpoint, is contained in a minute stating the fact that the Directors had let off the room over the Girlington branch to Miall's Committee for three nights each week at 4s. per night. In case any of the supporters of the other candidate (Mr. M. W. Thompson) were dissatisfied they were to be informed that they could have the other three nights each week at the same price. Whether they accepted or not is not stated, but the balance sheet has an item "Rent of room at Girlington £1," so it does not look as if they did.

That is not the only action taken by the Directors as a body in this election, for they ordered all the stores to be closed from 11 o'clock to 2 p.m. for the purpose of allowing the storemen the opportunity of attending the public nomination of the candidates in Peckover Walk, which turned out to be such a rowdy affair that the meeting was broken up and ended in a general melee, in which sticks and stones were freely used. And yet, although it was made very plain as to which side the Directors leaned, they were never called in question at any of the subsequent meetings of the members for their action.



Can anyone say what would be the outcome of such a proceeding to-day ?

Several references in the minutes during the year relate to work done for the society by the Industrial Painters' Society, but whether this was just a department of the recently amalgamated Queensgate Society, the proper name of which was the Bradford Industrial Society, or whether it was an entirely separate society organised by the Bradford painters on similar lines to the more recent "Joiners and Builders' Co-operative Society," is not now known. It is satisfactory, however, to see that the Provident Society gave them a deal of work for the new stores at Laisterdyke and Bridge Street, and several of the old stores were re-done by them at this time.

This year is noted as being that in which the first Co-operative Congress was held. The place of meeting being the Society of Arts Hall, Adelphi, London, it was thought too far to send a delegate to, so the Directors did the next best thing by trying to get someone to go who would not require any expenses. The first motion agreed to was that "Jacob Behrens, Esq., be waited upon and asked to attend the Congress for them." Before the meeting concluded this was rescinded and a resolution carried that Mr. Miall, the newly-elected Member of Parliament for Bradford, should be written to and asked to undertake the duties. It is probable the change was made on reading the programme of the proceedings, as the first day's chairman was to be Tom Hughes, M.P., the second A. J. Mundella, M.P., and the third day W. Morrison, M.P. Seeing all the leading men were Members of Parliament no doubt the Provident's Directors felt justified in calling

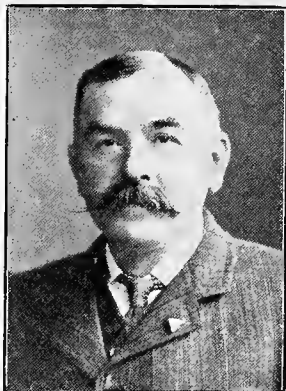
DIRECTORS.



J. H. SMITH.



A. NORRIS.



A. H. SCURRAH.



J. HEY

upon their representative in the House of Commons to undertake this duty also. Whether Mr. Miall ever came to give his report is not stated, but some time afterwards a minute refers to a letter received from him which gave every satisfaction.

If there was no tea to celebrate the amalgamation, an innovation was made in the shape of a trip. In this affair the committee's recommendation to arrange a trip was rejected by the meeting, but permission was given that if any number of the Directors cared to run one on their own they could use the name of the society to do so. The trip came off in due course on August 7th, when about 250 members went by Midland train for a half-day to Ripon and Studley Park, and had a glorious time of it. As the balance sheet for the half-year shows a profit of about three guineas on the excursion it would seem not only to have been successful but that the society took the profit while disclaiming any share of the risk.

It seems that the land purchased for the store at Laisterdyke was more than was necessary for their requirements, therefore the Directors became, for the time being, landholders wishing to sell, and it is noteworthy that they rose to the height of their position as social reformers, for there is a minute which reads as follows :—" That we allow Mr. Burnley to have the land at Laisterdyke at 4s. 8d. per yard, but that no beershop be erected thereon be a stipulation."

It was during this year also that the drapery and the tailoring departments became established on a permanent footing by having responsible managers appointed for each. Mr. W. Fielden received the first-named position at £60

per annum, and Mr. J. W. Mason the latter at 28s. per week. The society was now able to supply the members with groceries, drapery, clothes, boots, butchers' meat, and coals, and possessed twelve stores, a general warehouse, a slaughterhouse and stables, and these two new departments.

At the annual meeting it was shown that the sales for the year had amounted to £53,469, on which the profits were such as to allow a dividend of 9d. in the pound for the first six months, and 1s. in the pound for the latter half-year. The share capital now stood at £10,600.

In the discussion on the balance sheet it was suggested that the society was getting too large to be well managed, and that the Directors were changed too frequently, in fact just when they had got used to the business. A further suggestion was thrown out that it would be advisable to increase the secretary's salary and give him an assistant, so that he could devote more time to real management of the business.

Replying on the discussion the chairman (Mr. J. Helliwell) said the Directors had already considered the wisdom of appointing a competent buyer, after which the balance sheet was passed. No further mention is made of the competent buyer for several years.

The tenth year of the society's existence 1870 was marked by a steady growth. The Directors were more concerned to attend to internal arrangements, consolidating and strengthening rather than extending by breaking up new ground. An early minute shows that the Directors had their own jokes, for one of them authorises "Mr. Shutt to sell Mr. Peel as dear as



possible," Mr. Peel, of course, being one of their own colleagues. What the nature of the article was that Mr. Peel was in need of is not stated. Certainly the minute, reading literally, would convey the idea that it was Mr. Peel himself that was in the market, but that seems to be only a clerical error. It is just possible Mr. Peel expressed a wish to purchase something which came under the purview of Mr. Shutt, hence the instruction to get as much out of him as possible.

Having accomplished his object in bringing about the amalgamation Mr. Howarth now retired from the scene. On April 13th he sent in his resignation to his colleagues, which was regretfully accepted by them, and Mr. Joseph Walker, who had lost his seat at the previous election, was asked to take the vacant place.

___ Another vacancy occurred in the month of July, caused by the sudden death of Mr. Shutt, who had been a very active member of the Board for a number of years. This seems to be the first case on record in the society of a Director passing away while in harness. The Directors passed a resolution that all who could make it convenient should attend the funeral, and further closed all the stores to enable as many of the employees to do so as possible.

By this time several of the older members were beginning to drop out of the front rank and to leave the work to younger men. One such caused several changes to be made in the staff. Mr. David Wilson had filled the position of treasurer since the beginning of 1862, but now tendered his resignation. Mr. Edward Schofield was appointed his successor under the new title of cashier, and

Mr. G. Hopkinson was promoted to the secretaryship in place of Mr. Schofield.

It was thought, however, that Mr. Wilson's services should be recognised. A committee was appointed, and later on in the year, at a tea party held in the Teetotal Hall, Bower Street, Mr. H. W. Naylor, President of the Society, presented Mr. Wilson with a timepiece, and Mrs. Wilson with a watch and appendages. The entertainment, apart from the speeches, was provided by a glee party engaged by Mr. Wooller. The gifts, which were supplied by Manoah Rhodes, were ordered to be displayed in the draper's window for several days.

At this period the society came into the possession of a beer shop known as the "Little Wonder." It was purchased along with some other property in Wakefield Road and Hirst Street, which was required for business purposes. No sooner was the purchase made than the Directors, again recognising their position as Social Reformers, gave instructions to close the place and have it altered into an ordinary shop, but finding that the tenant had a lease to run they were reluctantly compelled to become the landlord for a considerable time, but were consoled with a rent of £28 per year; the tenant paid his own rates. The year closed with a record turnover amounting to £67,718, and a dividend of 1s. in the pound.

The purchase of the property mentioned in the last chapter left the exchequer short, and one of the first problems set the Directors was that of getting some ready money to carry on the business with. They were in a very different position now to what they were on the previous occasion when they were short of capital, which only shows

how far they had prospered in the meantime. A letter was sent to the Sowerby Bridge Flour Society asking if they could negotiate a loan of £2000, on the deeds of Bridge Street, Hirst Street, and Manningham properties. The reply was an immediate offer of £3000.

Although money was easily obtainable at this time it does not follow that the Directors thought it should be allowed to go as easily, for we read that the cashier received instructions to see the assessor of rates and taxes with respect to the assessment of the Bridge Street property, but whether he was successful in getting a reduction or not does not appear.

This ability to get money, however, may have made the Directors think more of themselves than formerly, for they decided to cover the floor of the Board Room with linoleum, and to have the chairs, after ten years' service, repaired, and while going to this expense they no doubt thought they might go the whole length, for they ordered a new chair for the President which was to be six inches higher than the rest.

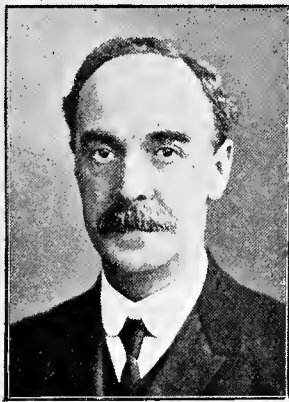
But if they showed signs of extravagance in this they made up for it by passing a resolution to bring into use the old tin checks which had been used by the Queensgate Society, thus saving the price of new ones.

In the light of later events it is interesting to note that two delegates, viz., Messrs. W. H. Naylor and H. W. Lush, were sent this year to the Co-operative Congress at Birmingham, with special instructions to use their best influence to get the following Congress to Bradford. That they were unsuccessful we know, for the Lancashire town of Bolton carried the day, but the minutes do not

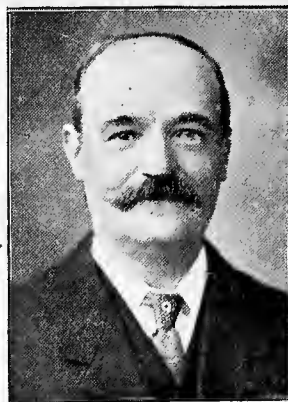
DIRECTORS.



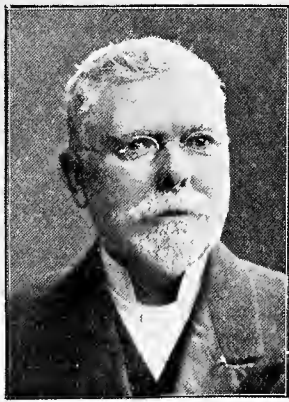
T. BANKS.



M. MOUNTAIN.



H. MELLOR.



C. BENNETT.



tell us so. All that is recorded is a special vote of thanks for their faithful discharge of their duties to the two delegates. A day or two afterwards the Board records its satisfaction in having one of its number, viz., Titus Hall, elected on the Board of the North of England Co-operative Wholesale Society, and shortly after that Mr. Lush was elected on the Congress Board.

At this time the butchering trade seems to have been giving some trouble. First the committee received power to buy meat in Bradford Market on a month's trial; next the cashier received similar instructions; then it was decided to offer the Co-operative Wholesale Society a weekly order of two beasts and six sheep if they would enter the cattle trade; finally a minute records "That Australian mutton be sent out at 7d. and beef at 8d." There is another minute which would be more interesting if we knew the sequel, but that is just where we are let down, many items are mentioned, but never referred to again. This particular minute states "That if the cashier finds our butcher's story about having been assaulted by Mr. Elsworth and others, on Monday last, a reliable one, then he shall have power to give the matter into the hands of Mr. Hutchinson (solicitor) to take proceedings."

A notable fact this year was the engagement of Mr. Lloyd Jones to give three lectures in Bradford. The first was held in the Temperance Hall, and was presided over by Mr. J. Crabtree (Chairman of the North of England Co-operative Wholesale Society).

Mr. Jones, who was listened to very patiently for over an hour, dwelt on the present condition of working men, and inquired whether it was satisfactory or not. Had they

any security in their several occupations ? Could they say to themselves that they were safe, to-day, to-morrow, or the day after, or could they say the same to their children ? He did not believe they were satisfied with their condition. With all their prosperity there were one million paupers in the country. Between seven and eight millions of pounds had to be raised annually by taxation upon industry, to support a class who could not command, by their own labour, the ordinary necessities of life. This was not on the lines of equity, and he wanted everything settled on the lines of equity. They must work side by side, and the profits must not flow into the counting-house only, but they must find their way into the homes of those who made those profits as well, so that everyone might rejoice at the prosperity of the nation. Co-operation had not only a large meaning, but it had a scientific meaning and explained everything. It asked for capital to carry on its business, and for consumption to make such capital profitable. Therefore it was their duty to encourage co-operative production. The very moment they became their own masters they liberated labour, and it lay with the working-man to carry it out. After urging the claims of co-operation he said he hoped before he died to see working-men and rich men working hand in hand to keep their country in advance of every country on the face of the earth.

The other two lectures, which were on similar lines, were given in other parts of the town. This extract is merely given to show the line of argument used in these early years in the history of the movement and also what it led to. One of these lectures was given in the



Manningham district, and it is quite possible it was the cause of a proposal by Mr. S. C. Lister (afterwards Lord Masham) to erect a store, to be worked on co-operative lines, in Silk Street, near to the celebrated Manningham Mills. On hearing this the Board sent Messrs. T. Hall, W. H. Hillas, and William Townend to interview Captain Lepper on the matter. They were informed that the story was quite true, and the cost of the same would be about £1000. They then suggested that the Provident Society should be allowed to rent it, the first year at 5 per cent. on the cost, the second year at 6 per cent., and the third year at 7 per cent. After that, if both sides were agreeable, the society should take it on a lease. The proposal seemed acceptable, and eventually the store became the property of the society.

Besides the above, the Provident Society took its share in the work of the movement generally. The Directors called a conference of Yorkshire Societies to consider the quarterly report of the North of England Co-operative Society, and also to see what action could be taken about the selection of candidates as directors of the same. This may read more like modern history than ancient, for similar meetings were held a few years ago with the same object in view, and yet has it not been said that history tends to repeat itself?

The Conference was duly held, when representatives attended from Hebden Bridge, Huddersfield, Guiseley, Barnsley, Chapel Allerton, Batley Carr, Windhill, and Keighley. The Bradford delegates were Messrs. Naylor, Lush, Leech, Wooller, Angus, and Hall. The decision arrived at was that "Mr. Hall, of Bradford, and a

Huddersfield delegate be nominated for seats on the Board of the North of England Co-operative Wholesale Society."

Other indications that the Directors were alive to their growing importance in the movement may be gathered from their action in increasing their shares in the Wholesale Society to 2600, also their weekly supply of the "Co-operative News" to 120 copies, which was something in those days, and a better supply, proportionately, than is the case in these days, proving they were alive to the need of keeping the members posted as to how the cause progressed in other parts of the country.

The position of affairs at the end of the year was that the society possessed nine freeholds, all situated in improving localities, the last purchase being a substantial block in Ellen Street. The sales for the year amounted to £78,593, and the dividend paid was 1s. in the pound. The capital of the society stood at £27,901. Besides growth in this direction the Directors showed progress in another, for they shortened the hours of labour by three in addition to maintaining the now long standing half-holiday.



1872—1873

✻	Money Brings Trouble	✻

CHAPTER XV.

Capital rapidly Increasing—General Manager Appointed—His Duties—Proposal to Purchase a Corn Mill at Wakefield—Increased Capital becomes a Difficulty—Investments in Co-operative Production—The Society becomes Part Proprietors in a Coal Mine—Supplies Bradford Corporation with Coal—First Proposal to commence Bread Making—Bowling Old Lane Society buys Land.

Early in 1872 the Directors found themselves in a position to pay off half of the loan which had been obtained from the Sowerby Bridge Flour Society. This growth in wealth seemed to affect the members as well as the Directors, for at the general meeting they decided to increase the Treasurer's salary to £150 per year, besides doubling the Directors' fee, that is from 6d. to 1s. per night. This latter resolution, however, had attached to it an injunction "that as they had been generously treated they were in their turn to be liberally behaved to the employees."

The Board were also definitely instructed to appoint a General Manager of the Society. This innovation may

be said to have been due to the direct influence of the amalgamation. While the Industrial Society was passing through turbulent waters it was a matter that was frequently discussed, but owing to the impossibility of agreeing as to the duties it was never adopted. Messrs. Tweed and John Mallison were the originators of the proposal, but they wanted an individual who would combine the duties of Buyer, Secretary, and Treasurer. This never found sufficient favour to carry a majority, so it was tried with variations by dropping off one of the duties after another, but still it was never accepted; and now when the members had decided that the Treasurer (Mr. Schofield) was the most important official by giving him the highest salary the main difficulty was removed. It was first decided that the wage should be £2 per week. Next the position was advertised. This brought forth twenty-nine applicants, which were speedily reduced to six and afterwards to four, when one of the Directors thought this would just be a nice thing for the President, therefore Mr. Naylor's name was added to the list, and remained there until it came to a final vote between him and Mr. Leech, but the latter carried the day with six votes to five.

Having got the man, the next thing was to fix his duties. These are embodied in about half-a-dozen resolutions, but put together they form a complete answer to those individuals who maintain that co-operative employees receive their money for doing just as they like. The list of duties was agreed upon at a special meeting, and covered several pages of the minute book, and it is certain, if conscientiously carried out, the mortal doing so well

deserved the forty shillings which were considered the equivalent of the multifarious duties assigned to the office. All the stocks and all the employees were to be under his direct control, the former as to quantity, quality, and sales, while with the latter he had to watch them in regard to punctuality in opening, and to see that they did their duty all day long, it should be remembered that there were twelve stores at this time, besides which he was to advise the Directors as to when and what to buy and sell, and to present a report weekly of all he did and of all the goods required for the stores. That there was need of some sort of supervision was obvious from a minute dated March 18th, 1872, viz. :—"That Wrangle's account for work done in '65 and '66 at Girlington be paid if found correct, and after being examined by the President and Cashier." How much the account was we do not know, but to allow it to stand over for seven years before presenting it shows greater laxity on the part of Wrangle than on that of the Society.

Besides being directly responsible for the erection of the Silk Street store, Lloyd Jones's lecture, in which he advocated the encouragement of co-operative production, must have had its effect on the Directors, for we read of them visiting Wakefield to inspect the Phoenix Corn Mill, which had been run by Joseph Horner & Sons, with a view to its purchase as a going concern. The report given afterwards was that the engine and machinery were in good working order, that the building was 76 yards long, and that it was supposed to have cost £20,000. In the opinion of the Directors the offer was well worth con-

sidering, but as the sum asked for was too much for the one society it was decided to call a conference of all the neighbouring societies to deal with the matter. Beyond this, with the exception of a request to these societies for information as to how much flour they consumed and what quantity they would be likely to purchase from the the new mill, if purchased, nothing further is stated. It is therefore more than probable that the proposal fell through, for a few months later it is recorded that the "Leeds Flour Society be written to asking upon what terms they would supply the society with flour." The reason for this is not quite apparent, for on receipt of this information it was decided to order 1000 packs of flour from the Sowerby Bridge and Halifax Flour Societies and only twenty packs from Leeds. One thing is certain, and that is the society was feeling the necessity for an outlet for the rapidly growing amount of capital in hand. Some relief was secured during the year by investing in a number of co-operative productive concerns. The amount of the shares in the Co-operative Wholesale Society was increased by £1000 ; one hundred shares were taken up in the Hebden Bridge Fustian Manufacturing Society ; fifty shares in the Industrial Bank, Newcastle ; one hundred shares in the Co-operative Printing Society ; two hundred shares in the Howley Park Quarries ; fifty shares of £5 each in the illfated Ouseburn Engine Company ; while a sum of £250 was invested in the Co-operative Insurance Society. In this way the surplus capital of the Society was reduced from £7412 to £5724, which still left the amount of capital in the Society at the close of the year at £32,109.

A step upwards in the social scale of the committee



is indicated in the records early in the year 1873. Up till this time the minutes have read as follows :—"That the following 'persons' be appointed to do this, that, or the other thing"; but now they read "That the following 'gentlemen' be appointed, &c." This may only have been a change in the mind of the writer of them, but colour is given to another view of the matter by a minute which states that a resolution had been passed that "delegates going on the Society's business should be allowed second-class railway fare to and from the place of meeting." It therefore looks as if the two facts were somewhat related. Another resolution a few weeks later adds to this assumption, for "those gentlemen who had tea on Board nights were informed they would have to pay for the same in future"—thus showing a certain degree of independence and also ability to comply with the conditions, since having had their remuneration doubled, viz., from 6d. to 1s. per meeting.

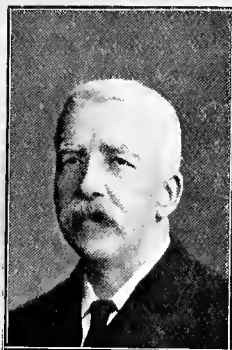
Further investments were made this year in productive concerns, in some cases for the sake of helping these ventures, as in the case of the Ouseburn Engineering Company, in which an additional £250 were placed in debenture shares, while in others it was a case of investing the members' capital, as was the case with the Airedale Manufacturing Society, in which £100 were placed, and also with the Morley Collieries, who received £500. Land was also purchased in Listerhills from Mr. A. Neil, and Mr. Atkinson was immediately instructed to prepare plans for a store and some houses.

It is noteworthy that at this time the Society supplied coals to the Corporation of Bradford for gas making, as

DEPARTMENTAL MANAGERS.



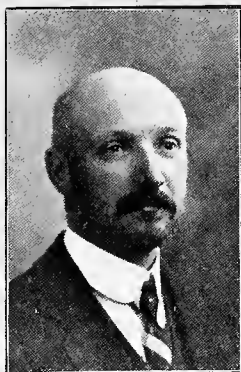
T. SMITH
(Butcher)



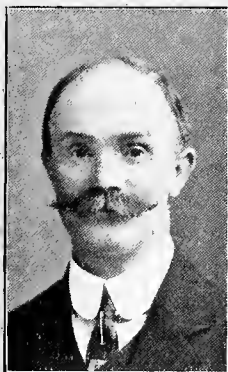
G. H. PAPE
(Butcher)



C. BLAGBROUGH
(Assistant, Grocery).



A. MOORHOUSE
(Tailoring)



T. CROWTHER
(Draper)



there are several minutes relating to interviews and communications with Mr. Swallow (head of the gas department) with respect to the same. This is interesting information to-day, for even when the Society has been successful in the competition for the supply of goods to public bodies, either by price or quality, on some occasions as soon as it became known that the goods selected had been submitted by the Co-operative society the order was cancelled, simply because it was the Co-operative society that had tendered. It mattered not that the Society may have paid ten times the amount in rates of the firm to whom the contract was given.

In this case of the coals, however, it seems the society, along with the Halifax Society and others, had become possessed of a colliery through an investment in what was known as St. John's Estate, Wakefield. There are many references to it in the records, but very little information. It is referred to as the Morley Co-operative Coal Mining Society at times, at others, as the Yorkshire Mining Society at Wakefield. Mr. William Townson was the Bradford Society's representative on the Directorate of the concern and did good service for the Society on it. At the Annual Co-operative Congress, which was held at Newcastle during this year, samples of the coal were sent to the exhibition held in connection with the Congress. This investment proved to be a veritable little gold mine to the Society, for some years afterwards, when all the coal had been secured, and the estate was re-sold, it brought 9d. per yard more than had been originally given for it.

Very little else seems to have been done this year. Mr.

Helliwell, the President, got elected on the Board of the Sowerby Bridge Flour Society, and his place as President was taken by Mr. John Wintersgill, who held it for many years. Such old Directors as Eli Webster, Titus Hall, H. W. Lush, and William Wooller lost their seats on the Board at the election after having served the movement almost since the beginning of either one or other of the two original Societies. None of them, with the exception of Mr. Wooller, ever got back again, and so they pass away out of our story.

New brooms are said to be able to sweep clean, and one of the first propositions of the new Board was to undertake the "bread-baking" business, but when they came to make inquiries as to how it was to be done they modified their proposals, and it was eventually decided to allow Richard Didcock to supply those stores with bread to whom he could deliver it. They also decided to close the tailoring department at once, but here again a change of opinion occurred, for a few weeks later a committee was appointed to view the premises opposite to see if they were suitable for the tailoring business. One resolution passed the same evening does seem strange, wherein it was decided to enter the pork business. Now, after all those years in which innumerable pigs had been purchased and cured, one would naturally have thought the Society had been very much in the pork business, but seemingly it was not so.

One thing they did that looked as if something were going to happen was the purchasing of a large map of Bradford, but nothing is mentioned as to the object intended. It can only be surmised that extensions were

in the air, if so it was some considerable time before anything in that direction was accomplished.

In the meantime the Bowling Old Lane Society had been quietly progressing. Having secured the title deeds of a portion of the "Nine Days' Work" estate, after a long period of anxious thought and much planning, the first thing the Committee did was to fence it all round as if to make it secure also. The lease of the shop and house then in use had still two years to run. There was therefore, no immediate hurry to commence building operations.

For some time afterwards matters seemed to run on very smoothly. Changes had taken place in the officers, Squire Alderson became President, Jeffrey Scholes, Secretary, and Henry Heaton, Treasurer. The Society had lost the services, by resignation, of "Old Nicholas," who had been the shopman from the commencement, or at any rate since ever there was a shopman. There are a few who still remember him and who have a kindly word to say about him. There was scarcely a better known man in the whole district than Nicholas Broadley. He had been one of the first members, and although not brought up to the business, he developed into a keen buyer and decent seller. Nothing came amiss to him; whether he was negotiating a bargain for some member's pigs (of which there seemed to be an endless supply), or whether he was land surveying on behalf of the Society, it mattered not to him, it was all in his day's work. He did not live to see the erection of the grand new shop he talked so much about, for, within a few months of his resignation, a minute records the fact that his executors should be

allowed to withdraw the money standing in his name. Within a few weeks Nicholas was followed by another old worthy member, David Kitchingman, who stood number twelve on the books, and had the honour of being the first Treasurer.



1874—1880

	Co-operative Production		
✻			✻

CHAPTER XVI.

Ouseburn Engineering Works Established—Help from Yorkshire and Lancashire—Co-operative Industrial Bank Established—The Idle Co-operative Commercial Society—St. John's Estate, Wakefield—A Costly Lesson—Land Wanted and Purchased—Money Wanted by the Bowling Old Lane Society—New Committee Elected—Quarterly Meetings Established by the Provident—Four New Branches Opened—Revision of Rules.

For several years onwards the Society prospered steadily. Membership, capital, and trade all showed increases. A new shop had been opened in Park Lane, Little Horton, which made the fourteenth branch. As the capital increased the Directors were exercised at times to find outlets for it, but never once did they complain of having too much. It was the other way round. The balance sheets contained a request that the members should allow their dividends and interest to remain in the Society to accumulate against the day of need. It is true the interest had been reduced from 6 per cent. to 5 per cent. on shares, and $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on loans, still the capital continued to increase. To give the Directors their

due, it is only justice to say they endeavoured in their investments to further co-operative effort. It was with this object in view that they invested a large sum in the Ouseburn Engineering Works, a concern which was established in Newcastle in 1871, as the outcome of the engineering strike for nine hours a day. The strike lasted some twenty weeks, from May to October. A number of sympathetic and philanthropic individuals subscribed a large amount of capital to help the workers, all of whom were shareholders. Such efforts, however, proved altogether inadequate, and an appeal was made to the co-operative movement, which received a hearty response from Yorkshire, the Bradford Society being among the number. Dr. J. H. Rutherford was the moving spirit of the concern, and had the assistance of such persons as Thomas Burt, Joseph Cowen (both of whom became members of Parliament), and J. McKendrick. The workers contributed at the rate of £3000 per year towards the capital, while the Co-operative Wholesale Society took up debenture bonds to the tune of £5000. Notwithstanding all, there still remained a mortgage of £20,000, which Mr. Tom Hughes, M.P., and Mr. Walter Morrison, M.P., did their very best to get co-operators to supply.

To finance the affair an Industrial Bank was formed, supported mainly by Co-operative Societies, but which had private shareholders as well. Both concerns, however, eventually came to grief. The failure of the Engineering Works causing the collapse of the Bank.

There was still another concern in which the Bradford Society had a fair interest, known as The Idle Co-operative Commercial Society, which was established to manufacture

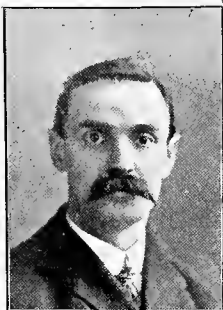


all kinds of woollen goods such as blankets, shawls, and cloths. Operations were first commenced at Hirst's Mill, but after a serious fire the business was removed to Idle. Mr. William Bell, who had been a manufacturer himself, was the manager and turned out some good material, but the concern never really recovered the effects of the fire, and, after a rather precarious struggle with the finances, gradually collapsed. During all its troubles the Bradford Society's Directors remained faithful to it. These were the days before the advent of railway, electric tram, or motor car to Idle, and in order to attend the meetings the delegates from Bradford were allowed the use of the Society's flat cart. This of course might seem a lowering of the dignity of gentlemen who were entitled to ride second-class, but when it came to a case of assisting a concern of the kind they were ever ready to do so.

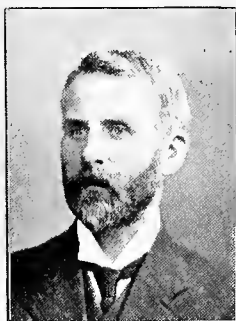
These two speculations turned out badly for the Society, if looked at merely from a monetary point of view, the action however cannot be separated from a desire to assist their fellows in the more difficult phase of co-operation, viz. :—Production. It is only right to say, in justification that sufficient money was received from the investment in St. John's Estate to cover the losses at Ouseburn and Idle.

If the Directors were paying for their experience in the productive line they had also to buy their experience in distribution rather dearly. A responsible employee betrayed his trust, and when charged with it became rather defiant to the Directors, with the consequence that legal action had to be taken which entailed legal expenses of over £200, besides having to get fresh bonds drawn up

DEPARTMENTAL MANAGERS.



E. HATFIELD
(Dress)



H. D. MALTON
(Stab. reg.)



I. BECK
(Furn. reg.)



M. LEAKER
(Cabin)



J. R. MATTHEW
(Laundry)

for all the store managers. It was a case that caused a deal of trouble to the Directors as well as to the other officials, but so satisfied were the Directors with the lesson they received that it was decided to allow Mr. Schofield, the cashier, and Mr. Hopkinson, the secretary, a week's holiday each and 10s. a day for expenses.

This method of reducing the share capital by loans outside Bradford did not find favour with all the Directors, and therefore it need not cause surprise to learn that Mr. Wooller thought it was time to make some investments nearer home, so he proposed "That we look out for land to sell. Anyone finding or hearing of any to report the same to the Committee."

Thus it came about that the Society became large owners of land and property, the first being three shops and dwelling-houses in Manchester Road, which were purchased for £4550. This was really all one estate, part of which was occupied by the Society with No. 1 Branch, and then numbered 238 Manchester Road. The other two shops were No. 240, occupied by Joseph Simpson, and No. 242, occupied by Jonas Taylor. There was also a dwelling-house in Grafton Street. But this was only a small affair compared with the next one of 42,000 yards of building land fronting Heaton and Victor Roads, which was purchased from Mr. S. C. Lister, and was capable of holding 300 dwelling-houses. Part of this was afterwards purchased by the Corporation to make a new road to the park gates, while Canon Mitton, St. Paul's, took a portion also, on which to erect a church. Then in Bowling, on the opposite side of the town, there was likely to be a law suit in



regard to some of the Society's property, so to avoid this, having had enough experience in law, they purchased the shops in question which adjoined their own.

In this way the public gained more confidence in the Society, and consequently the business increased to that extent that a dividend of 1s. 4d. was paid, which was soon followed by a further increase to 1s. 5d., so that by the end of 1876 the Directors were able to report the year as one of exceptional progress.

While the Provident Society had so much capital that the Directors scarcely knew what to do with it, the Bowling Old Lane Society were at their wits' end to find some. They had purchased the land for new stores, but could go no further. At the half-yearly meeting the members authorised the building committee to borrow sufficient money from the Third Equitable Building Society, but they were to stipulate for a term of fifty years in which to pay it back. These negotiations seemingly fell through, and attempts to obtain the money in other directions followed, even a deputation visited the Co-operative Wholesale Society in Manchester, all to no purpose. Eventually the necessary amount was advanced by Mr. Henry Sutcliffe, of Ripley's Dyeworks, where so many of the Society's members were employed. This was mainly accomplished by the good services of Mr. Riley Bower, a son of Mr. Thomas Bower, who was the first President of the Provident Society. It does seem strange, however, that no approach was made to the Provident Society for this money. Whether it would have been supplied cannot now be known, but at any rate some effort might have been made in that direction. The

legal obstacles being removed and the financial arrangement completed the committee lost no time in going on with the building. They were not satisfied with the rules, however, which had been the source of so much trouble, and so they decided to have them brought up to date. The Secretary was instructed to obtain an "Act of Parliament," after which a Sub-Committee consisting of David Thornton, Riley Bower, and the Secretary were appointed to see to the revision. So expeditious were they with their work, and so anxious that with the opening of the new premises the members would be supplied with new rules, that within a month of their appointment the revision was completed. The new premises were opened on January 5th, 1876, and on the 18th the general meeting was held, at which it was decided that as everything else was new they should have a new start all round by electing a complete new committee, so all the offices were declared vacant, and a ballot taken to fill them, with the following result:—President, Riley Bower; secretary, C. H. Tarr; treasurer, George Wright; committee, Messrs. Squire Alderson, A. Womersley, A. Thornton, J. Bastow, W. Stainthorpe, J. Barker, J. Ambler, David Thornton, Daniel Thornton, and Squire Mortimer. Samuel Rothera and William Woodhead were appointed as Auditors. It was also decided to celebrate the event with a tea, which duly came off in the following month, with Mr. Henry Sutcliffe in the chair, as a compliment for the timely financial assistance he had rendered them when in dire straits. The affair was a complete success, financially so, as there was a profit of 18s. after all accounts were settled, and from a speaking point of view, as Mr. B.

Wainwright's address on the evils of credit is still quoted in the district. There were also many congratulatory remarks from those who first proposed the scheme for new premises, although there had been many changes in the meantime, as it was just nine years from the time of the proposal to build to its completion.

This satisfactory condition of steady progress was maintained by the Provident Society for several years. There were changes in the personnel of those who conducted the affairs of the Society, it is true, but the work itself went steadily on. Among the changes the retirement of Mr. Wintersgill, who had been president for several years, should not be passed over. He found it necessary to commence business on his own account in a line that brought him in opposition to the Society, hence he had to relinquish his connection with the direct control of the business of the Society. His position as President was offered to Mr. William Farrar, and the members at the next general meeting endorsed the action of the Directors.

In compliance with a resolution of the members, quarterly meetings were instituted but were not taken advantage of as was expected, indeed, on one occasion the only resolution passed was a vote of thanks to the chairman for presiding. In one sense it was a satisfactory state of affairs, at any rate it was a sure indication that the members were satisfied with the management of the Society, still it showed that there was a lessening interest, if not a falling away from that enthusiasm which characterised the earlier days of the Society.

For all that the Society was making headway, new



stores were opened in Undercliffe Street, Leeds Road, Bolton Road, and in Surrey Street, Bowling Old Lane, which brought the total branches to seventeen. Besides these several of the old shops had been replaced by new and more suitable premises, so the directors were not idle even if the records of the period are rather monotonous reading. Again it should be remembered by those whose minds go back to that date, that it was a period of commercial depression generally, but still the trade of the Society seemed to be maintained ; if it varied at all it was only in accord with the rise and fall in the prices of the goods sold. The membership showed a steady increase, rising, in the period covered by this chapter, from three thousand to five thousand. The dividends, however, varied somewhat between thirteenspence at its commencement to sixteen and eighteenspence at its close ; it even rose to two shillings on one occasion, but speedily came down to sixteenspence again.

That the Directors had their troubles goes without saying, but that they dealt with them in a manly way is shown by an incident disclosed in the minutes. There had been complaints about flour, or rather statements calling in question the quality of the flour. The matter was communicated to the directors of the Sowerby Bridge Flour Society. But let the minutes speak for themselves : " After having had the flour from the Sowerby Bridge and other mills, including private flour mills analysed, a letter be sent to the Sowerby Bridge Society stating they were satisfied as to its purity, and hereby expresses its confidence in the Directors and thank them along with the deputation for their trouble."



A. E. SHIELDS
(Trade Auditor)



J. BUCKLE
(Trade Auditor)



R. J. SUGDEN
(Solicitor)



H. V. GREENWOOD
(Share Auditor)



J. RHODES
(Share Auditor)



Although the matter ended for that evening, some of the Directors had been set to thinking. If the flour was pure and the bread not right it must be the baking that was at fault, and so at the next meeting Mr. Townson proposed "That we go into the baking business," which, on being seconded by Mr. Bradley, was agreed to. While the resolution was readily adopted it was a long time before it was carried out, which shows there were some unseen difficulties in the way, or perhaps the directors were not all satisfied as to the success of the undertaking.

If the Directors had any real trouble during this period it was with the now too-rapidly increasing share capital, consequently it became necessary to reduce the rate of interest to the members; but for all that, they did not neglect to look after the interest that was due to the Society; for instance, Mr. Schofield and Mr. Hopkinson were instructed to try their best to get the amount of interest due from the Corporation for the land purchased by them, but not paid for, more than twelve months previously. It may be the Town Hall officials thought because they were dealing with working-men they could do as they liked with them, but they found out their mistake. The rule was cash down or interest until it was paid.

The new Act of Parliament relating to Industrial Societies which came into force during this period necessitated a revision of the rules, which duty was performed by Messrs. Schofield, Gilyard, Laycock, Noble, and Milnes, and resulted in the increase of the committee to fourteen.

One result of the plentiful supply of capital was a

decision to rebuild the Manchester Road branch, and accordingly Mr. Sam Robinson, Architect, was instructed to prepare plans, and in due course building operations were commenced.

Meanwhile new stores were opened in Garnett Street and Princeville, which brought the total number of branches to nineteen, which further necessitated the appointment of a "store inspector," which duty was entrusted to James Sagar at a salary of 30s. per week. Wages, seemingly, at that period did not run particularly high, as the new drapery manager only received 32s. per week.

Co-operative Stores have always had an attraction for the thieving fraternity, so it is rather pleasing to read a minute of the following nature: "That the woman who first discovered the thieves breaking in at Bowling Store be presented with 5s., and the policeman with 5s., and Hirst with 10s. for holding the thieves till the policeman came, and that a complimentary letter be written to the Watch Committee in praise of the conduct of policeman Rushworth."



1881--1884

	The Society's Majority		
✻			✻

CHAPTER XVII.

Opening of the New Premises in Manchester Road—
A Snub to the Inland Revenue Authorities—Attempt
to Amalgamate the Halifax and Sowerby Bridge Flour
Societies — Coming of Age Celebration — Twenty-one
Years' Review—Presentation to Mr. W. Farrar, president
—E. O. Greening on the value of Co-operation—Bread
Baking Started—New Rules and District Representation.
—New Central Premises Wanted.

The year 1881 was also a memorable one. The old shops in Manchester Road had been pulled down and a new three-storeyed structure erected at a cost of £2000. The business was meanwhile carried on in the shop now occupied by Dr. Wright at 161 Manchester Road. To celebrate the opening of the new premises a tea and concert was held in All Saints' Schoolroom, at which Mr. W. Swallow (Leeds) and Messrs. E. Schofield, Wm. Townson, and Councillor Pearson were the speakers. The Orpheus Glee Union supplied the music, besides, as is recorded in the minutes, "finding their own piano."

The Directors, with a view to impressing the public with an idea of the magnitude of the Society at this time,

announced to the world that since its commencement the Society had sold, over the counters, goods to the value of over a million-and-a-quarter pounds sterling. Of course they were proud of the fact, and we can excuse them boasting of it. A different complexion, however, was put upon it when they received a communication from the Inland Revenue authorities requesting a list of the members' names. A few years before, and this would have put them in a terrible flutter, but they knew something about law now, they had bought their experience, besides which they had recently been studying Acts of Parliament with regard to the building of houses on the Manningham estate, so they treated it with the dignity becoming men in such a large way of business. It was decided to return the communication to those who sent it, with a polite request that they might "specify the special Act of Parliament under which the claim for such information was made."

There is no record that the Chief Registrar censured anyone for trying to impose upon the working men of Bradford, but it is certain that no further attempt was made to obtain such information.

The Directors, however, were not so successful in another matter. It seems something had gone wrong with the business of the Halifax Flour Society, what it was is not stated, but about this time it was unable to pay any dividend. The Bradford Directors decided that the best way of solving the problem, whatever it was, would be to amalgamate both Sowerby Bridge and Halifax Flour Societies, they therefore brought the matter before the Airedale District Association's Con-



ference, and also arranged with the Stainland Society to do the same in the Calderdale District Conference. What the immediate result was is not known, but the fact that both societies are still separate shows the proposal must have fallen through.

At this period the Bradford Society had no representative on the Halifax Board of Management, although for some years it had paid the expenses of one on the Sowerby Bridge Board. Shortly after this Mr. M. Hopwood, of the Bradford Board, became their representative on the Halifax Board and perhaps that may have had something to do with the ending of the amalgamation scheme.

The question has been revived again quite recently, but in the twenty years that have intervened there has been a complete change in the position of the two societies, while Halifax would have welcomed amalgamation then it is now strongly opposed to such a proposal.

There is a minute recorded at this period, or, to be exact, on January 13th, which is not without its own significance. It simply states "That the boy Bennett be engaged as check clerk for No. 8 Branch," but it indicates the advent into the Society of one who has gradually risen, step by step, to one of the highest positions in its employment.

COMING OF AGE CELEBRATION.

At length the time came, as it does to most robust and healthy bodies, when the Society could be said to have reached its majority, and the Directors took steps to suitably celebrate the event. St. George's Hall was

engaged and many prominent and public men were invited to be present on that occasion. November 5th, 1881, was the date fixed upon for that purpose, as being as near to the actual birthday as possible. In the afternoon the members and their friends were entertained to tea, after which, and long before the hour for commencing business, Bradford's largest meeting place was crowded with an eager throng of men and women desirous, by their presence, of giving expression to their feelings of joy and thankfulness that their attempt to improve the conditions of their lives had been so successful, and had reached the age of manhood.

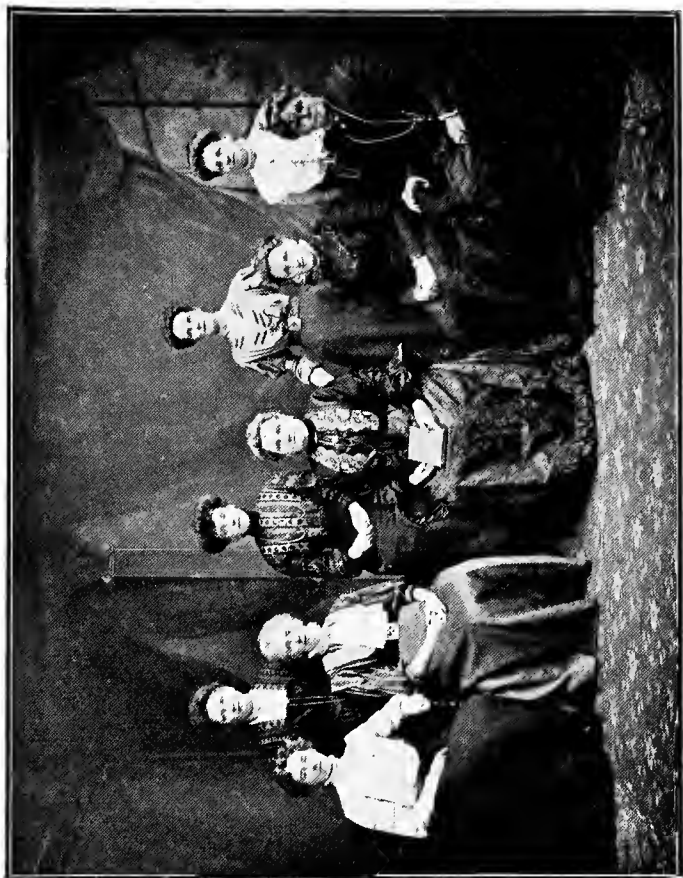
The walls and front of the galleries of the magnificent hall were hung around with banners and mottoes, conspicuous among them being the following :—" Co-operation Unites Capital with Labour " ; " The aim of Co-operation is the Welfare of the Many."

When Mr. William Farrar, as President of the Society, took the chair in place of Mr. Angus Holden (the Mayor) who should have presided, he was greeted with such a genuine burst of applause as can only come from a great gathering of loyal Yorkshire hearts. He was accompanied by the Rev. Dr. Campbell, Mr. E. O. Greening, from London, Mr. G. H. Hopkinson, Secretary, and Mr. Edward Schofield, Treasurer.

When quiet was restored the Chairman said they were assembled to rejoice over the coming of age of the Society. When they started in 1860 the people asked what working men knew about buying and selling or about commerce in general. That day those people had their answer. The Society had been in existence twenty-one years. It had

been commenced by working men, had been conducted by working men, and had been managed by working men all the time, and when they saw the proud position to which the Society had attained they had every reason to be gratified. They were turning over something like from £130,000 to £140,000 a year, and from which they were realising a profit of from £15,000 to £16,000 per year. In that way the Society had paid back to its members, in the aggregate, nearly £120,000. Surely with such great results as those they could fairly come to the conclusion that working men had intelligence, ability, and capacity for business.

Having explained what had been accomplished Mr. Farrar projected into the future. What they had to do was to put their shoulders to the wheel, to stand shoulder to shoulder, to have more confidence and more trust in each other ; to educate and enlighten each other, and to spread the principles of co-operation throughout the length and breadth of the land. Describing co-operation, he said they had in it the power requisite to bring about a great moral and social revolution in the condition of the working class. It was one of those civilising forces which were destined to raise the worker from a position of dependence and poverty to be partakers of profit, and, in the course of time, in a very peaceful and equitable manner, bring about a more equitable distribution of wealth. Some people asserted they were selfish, but their motto was "Each for All, and All for Each." In other words they were carrying out the great principle laid down by the man who spake as man never yet spake, "Love thy neighbour as thyself." As Mr. Farrar concluded another





great burst of applause testified to the pleasure with which his remarks had been received.

Mr. Hopkinson then read several letters of apology from those who could not attend. Among these one was from Dublin Castle, from the Rt. Hon. W. E. Forster, M.P., Chief Secretary for Ireland, who at that time had his hands full enough with the Fenian leaders. Another letter was from Mr. Alfred Illingworth, M.P., who was confined at home owing to a throat affection. He said that even if he dare have risked venturing out he would not have been able to make himself heard; other letters were read from Dr. Bardsley, Vicar of Bradford; Sir H. W. Ripley, and Mr. Briggs Priestley.

Mr. Hopkinson next submitted a report on the position of the society. In this he traced the history from the start in Bowling Old Lane, when Mr. John Lockwood was Secretary, and Mr. Tom Bower President, the latter having since passed away. In its early stages, he said, the Directors did not get on well together, as they seemed to possess the idea that the committee room was a place for heated discussion instead of quiet and thoughtful solution. The disappointing result of the second half-year's trading, when the dividend dropped from one shilling to eightpence, had taught them that in co-operation, as elsewhere, profit was a moving power, therefore it was with no surprise they heard one member propose that the whole of the Directors should be "turned off." This was not carried, but some of them resigned and made room for perhaps less clever but more willing workers.

In treating of the position of the Society in its twenty-



first year, Mr. Hopkinson said the Society then possessed nineteen stores, as the Manchester Road premises had been re-built, they were now selling 500 packs of flour per week, they owned eleven horses and had twenty-eight coal waggons, as they were selling from 250 to 300 tons of coal per week. They owned land and property valued at £52,000, and had £6200 invested in other co-operative concerns. The buildings and working plant had been depreciated to the extent of £4600. During its existence the Society had realised profits amounting to £112,000, and as a proof of their wish to help others had granted a sum of £50 to the Mayor's fund to relieve the distress in 1879. In concluding his report Mr. Hopkinson said, having described its origin, its early struggles, and shown how the members remained loyal to it year after year, feeling they were building up an institution which would confer great benefits upon the inhabitants of the town by teaching the power and blessing of united effort and abolishing the credit system with its greasy book of former days, it now remained for the members to carry forward the good work, remembering that

“The mountain's height is free to climb,
Work on, man's heritage is time.”

The Rev. Dr. Campbell, who followed, was warmly received, for he had attended many of the Society's functions. After expressing his pleasure at being present at that one which marked the majority of the Society, he said he was reminded of the fears, anxieties, and successes through which they had passed in arriving at that day. One fact was brought out, the Society had passed



through that school, that course of education, which all must pass through before arriving at that manhood when it could feel its muscles, nerves, mind, spirit, and strength. The report just given was full of interest and instruction, and he would be a clever man indeed who could add much interest and emphasis to that meeting after such a history of successful effort. It seemed to him that the Society had arrived at that point of strength that it would continue to grow by the forces which it had already collected within it, and they need not concern themselves so much about extension and consolidation. The true value of their successes in the past was not to be measured in material results, although they were very good, and very great, but in the forethought and the frugality and various kinds of legitimate and virtuous devices which the members had brought to bear personally and in their families and in helping one another. For it stood to reason that in the past many members had not very ample means, or much beyond their actual requirements, therefore it required thoughtful counsel at home, mutual consideration of giving and taking, with the result of building up many characters in that fibre and strength which went to make up our great humanity.

A very interesting event then followed, a presentation of a marble timepiece and an illuminated address was made to Mr. Farrar, by Mr. Hopkinson, on behalf of the employees of the Society. In making the presentation Mr. Hopkinson referred to valuable work done by Mr. Farrar during the six years he had been President, and said further, these years had been the most successful in its history.

Mr. Farrar, in accepting the gift, replied in suitable terms.

After this Mr. E. O. Greening gave an address on the value of co-operation, and compared the principle on which co-operation was carried on to that of Aladdin's wonderful lamp, because it enabled them to make something out of nothing. For instance, the man who twenty-one years ago said that in that time the members would get £70,000, all their own, with £50,000 invested in land and buildings, and that they would make annual profits amounting to £14,000, would have been called a lunatic. But that was what they had done, and they had realised it practically out of nothing, because he found from their report that the total profits had exceeded the sum invested in the Society by £50,000 or thereabouts, so that while they had paid out about £50,000 to the members they still had £70,000 left in. Co-operation, concluded Mr. Greening, endowed the people with hope and enabled them to see that in this country of ours they had a home which in the future their children might inherit and which would make them citizens of a better country than it had been in the past.

At intervals the proceedings were pleasantly diversified by an attractive programme of music contributed by Miss Cragg, Miss Norton, Mr. Thornton Wood, and the Bradford and Undercliffe Glee Union, who sang several glees in fine style. Mr. James Kilner presided at the piano.

As soon as the above celebrations were over the Directors determined to do something to cope with the ever-increasing flow of members' savings. First of all a restriction was put on the amount each member could have



in the Society. In future £150 would be the limit. The next step was the dividing of the Board into a number of sub-committees to visit all the outlying districts where stores might be planted. This resulted in the opening of Undercliffe, Green Lane, and Dudley Hill stores, bringing the total number to twenty-two.

Business seemed in a very prosperous condition. The Directors were instructed to commence a scheme of house building on the Manningham estate; the first lot to contain twenty houses, which were to be offered to the members, after which, if these proved a success, another lot was to be undertaken. The only trouble the Directors seemed to have now was with the share capital, and to remedy this the limit to each member was once more reduced, bringing it down to £100.

The large bank balance also caused the Directors to look round for some method of reducing it. A committee was appointed to consider the best method of getting more accommodation at the central warehouse, another to inquire as to the possibility of having telephones connecting all the branches with the central offices in Bridge Street, and a further committee was set to draw up a scheme of bread baking.

This latter committee consisted of Messrs. Townson, Stead, and Tate, who were the first to report their deliberations, with the result that one of the society's cottages in Hirst Street was fitted up with an oven, some six feet long and two feet six inches wide, and Emma Sharp was engaged as baker at a wage of 15s. per week. The system adopted was that Emma baked as she would have done at her own home, using two or three stones of flour

at a time. It was further decided that the representative of No. 4 branch should keep an eye on the bread baking department. A few months afterwards Mr. Townson was appointed to assist No. 4 representative and also to see if the bread could not be improved in quality. The result this time was an advertisement in the paper for a competent baker. The position was secured by a Mr. Dawson, under whose expert management it developed into a trade of 15,225 loaves in the half-year, and was one of the special items mentioned on the balance sheet. Still this did not stop the rise in share capital, and it was decided to further reduce each member's limit to £80, and also to reduce the interest from 5 per cent. to 4 per cent., which seemingly had the desired effect.

It should be noted, however, that besides what capital the members were bringing, there were other factors at work ; for instance, large plots of the Manningham estate were being sold, and then again a sum of £1000 had been received from the Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway Company as compensation for an obstruction which they had placed against the Bridge Street property, all of which helped to swell the already overflowing coffers.

About this time an agitation arose against the Directors for finding comfortable situations in the Society for various members of their families, which resulted in a demand for a revision of the rules, and ultimately led to the adoption of a scheme of representation, suggested by Mr. Clegg, whereby the Society was divided into six districts comprising groups of stores. Each district was to be entitled to a certain number of representatives according to the amount of sales in the locality.



As finally adopted the Otley Road district, with a trade of £403 per week, received two representatives; Leeds Road, with £400, two; Wakefield Road, with £352, two; Manchester Road, with £417, two; Listerhills, with £538, three; and Manningham, with £589, three representatives. It was also decided that no member could be eligible as a Director for any other district than that in which he resided.

Another innovation introduced into the Society at this time was a decision to pay bonus to labour. It was agreed that a rate of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. should be allowed to each of the employees on their wages.

As a result of the adoption of the new scheme of district representation the following were elected at the half-yearly meeting held in the Mechanics' Institute.

No. 1. Robert Wood and B. Tate.

No. 2. Thomas Fisher and John Stead.

No. 3. William Brooksbank and James Clark

No. 4. John Pexton and John Waddington.

No. 5. Joseph Wilson, Martin Bakes, and Enoch Stephenson.

No. 6. Henry W. Lush, Matthew Hopwood, and John Mallison.

The unsuccessful candidates on this occasion were Richard Edmondson, David Thornton, Samuel Harrison, Peter Burgon, James Cotter, Charles Woodrow, Joseph Crabtree, William Clegg, Charles Riley, and James Fletcher.

The success of the bakery business does not seem to have lasted long. At any rate it got short shrift soon after the new Board were elected. The first mention is "that



VICTOR TERRACE



VICTOR STREET



we have a change in the bakery.” Nothing is said about why or wherefore. The next step was taken a few weeks later when a committee was appointed to inquire into the bakery business, on whose report it was decided to discontinue it and give the baker a week’s wage in lieu of notice. Then Mr. Schofield was instructed to sell all the baking utensils, and Mr. Anthony Airey was asked to supply the stores with what bread they required, and thus ended another attempt to utilise capital in production for that time.

The other question that was agitating the minds of the Directors was what to do about new central premises. The business was increasing fast, and some thought Bridge Street out of the way. While the subject was still in the air, as it were, some land at the back of the then central premises came into the market, which was promptly secured for £630. But then there was still the fear that the railway company would some day demand the premises already occupied by the Society, in fact the proposal for new premises was actually postponed until a definite reply could be obtained from the railway company as to their intention, at the same time informing the railway directors that the Society was about to expend a large sum of money in alterations, but if the company were likely to want the premises they would withhold their hands for the present.

Evidently the reply was not satisfactory, or perhaps the Directors wanted to have two strings to their bow, for Mr. Schofield was instructed to inquire the price of a certain piece of land which was unnamed.

Then about ten days afterwards there is a statement

“That we entertain the Bull’s Head site offered by the Corporation and offer them £10 per yard.” A month later it was decided to send a deputation to the Town Clerk to try and get the land in Westgate for less than the price asked for it, viz., £13 per yard, and to request that the matter be left in abeyance until the same had been submitted to the members at the half-yearly meeting. But when it was explained to the meeting by Mr. Woodrow they decided not to entertain the question at all. So the matter was shelved for the time being.





(Secretary). The artistes were Miss A. Hallowell, R.A.M., Miss M. Tomlinson, Mr. C. Prince, and Mr. J. Helliwell, the latter being the humorist.

Mr. Hopkinson read a report for the half-year ended January 5th, 1885, which showed the retail sales had amounted to £67,568, and the wholesale sales to £1251, giving a total trade of £68,819. Towards new shares the sum of £8851 had been received, while £9433 had been withdrawn, leaving the share capital at £71,584. The total profits for the half-year had amounted to £8369, which allowed a dividend of 1s. 10d. in the pound. After this came the Chairman's address, which covers two columns of the *Bradford Observer*, and deals with so many items of importance to-day that it is worthy of an extended summary in these pages. Again, as Mr. Forster's political life and business qualifications are held in such high repute, it may interest many of his friends to know something of his views on co-operation. The speech was delivered some time after his return from Ireland, where he had been Chief Secretary under Mr. Gladstone's Government, and in the same hall, from the same platform, with very possibly many of the same persons in the audience as those who heard his famous address when he struck that attitude which has given the sculptor the design for the monument in Forster Square.

When Mr. Forster rose to address the audience he was received with great enthusiasm. He said many years ago he took great interest in co-operation and had never ceased to have an interest in it, although, for some time back, he had been tolerably well employed with other matters, and had been unable to pay so much attention to it.



Coming back to it once more he was struck with the great progress made in the interval. The Society had been in existence twenty-five years, and it was their silver wedding. If that session of Parliament ran out it would be his silver wedding as representative for Bradford, therefore that meeting had a peculiar interest for him. In drawing a comparison between the first year's trade and that just read by Mr. Hopkinson he said it showed a tremendous growth.

One great secret of the success of co-operation was that it had been a spontaneous, self-helping movement amongst the working classes, who had been independent of anything like patronage. It had been the means of saving a great deal of money to working men. The enormous capital of the Bradford Society represented the savings of Bradford workers. The demand for ready money for all purchases was a good rule, and the result was that those who dealt at the stores had been far less burdened with debt, and everyone knew what a misery debt was in a workman's home. But the capital actually saved was only a small part of what they had gained. Dividends had been returned year by year, and he imagined had amounted to a much larger sum than their capital.

Mr. Forster next dealt with a letter he had received from a person who signed himself "Fairplay," in which objections were raised against co-operation. The first objection raised was that it was a monopoly. Now, said Mr. Forster, Johnson, who was a good Tory, but a good-hearted, sensible fellow for all that, defined monopoly as "the exclusive privilege of selling anything." Well, he continued, there could not be a description more untrue

of co-operation, for they wished everyone to join them, they excluded none. Co-operation might have faults, but that was not one of them.

The next objection of "Fairplay" was one that is still to the fore in spite of the numberless times that it has been exposed. It was that co-operators did not pay Income Tax. Dealing with this Mr. Forster explained that co-operative profits were divided in very small sums among the shareholders, but if it could be proved that anyone had drunk so much tea or smoked so much tobacco, or had given so many dresses to his wife or children, that his bonus at the end of the year amounted to a sum which would bring him within the Income Tax, he imagined the gentleman who looked after the Income Tax—whom he had always found to be tolerably sharp—would soon be down upon him.

Another objection was that the stores were not truly co-operative because they sold goods at the market price, that is at the same price as the ordinary shopkeepers, and the question was asked would it not be better to do as the Civil Service Stores did and sell considerably under the shopkeeper. Well, in his opinion, that was a question for the Bradford Society's members to answer, they were the best judges as to what was preferable in a matter of that kind, but he would like to inform "Fairplay" that if he wished for that he would have to reckon with the shopkeepers of the town, because nothing that was more likely to injure them could possibly be considered. He believed if co-operators had gone on those lines, as they might legitimately have done, and sold at wholesale prices, there would have been far greater distress among the shopkeepers

than had been the case. To show that co-operators had not interfered with the shopkeepers' chances, Mr. Forster said that when the Society started in Bradford the population of the town then numbered 106,000, at the last census it was shown to have increased to 180,000; he believed the sales of the Society might reach only 25,000 individuals, consequently there was plenty of room for growth among the shopkeepers yet.

There was still another matter to be dealt with, he said. The charge was made that too much of the profit went to keep up extravagantly paid officials. Now this was a matter he had closely inquired into and found it to be absolutely untrue. In fact it was the other way about, for he found the work was done much cheaper than he could get similar work done for. He found the accounts as intelligible and as clear as any he had ever seen in his life. Their turnover was £142,000 per year, the profits were nearly £18,000, and the office charges amounted to £232.

Dealing with co-operation generally, the right honourable gentleman caused loud laughter when he said it must produce a delightful feeling to know that the more you spent the more you got.

THE NEXT STEP—LAND.

Having justified co-operative action up till then, Mr. Forster also considered what should be the next step in its forward march. Someone had suggested to him that they should take to the land, but in a conversation with their Treasurer, Mr. Schofield, he found him rather doubtful on that policy, as he thought the time was coming



LEAMINGTON STREET



GILPIN STREET



when the land would belong to everyone and there would be no rent. This caused so much laughter that Mr. Forster had to wait before he proceeded to remark that if they waited for that to come to pass they would have to wait a while, at any rate he would be in his grave some time before then. Independent of that, however, he advised them to "keep off farming," as he did not think town artisans were well enough up in farming, besides farming was a bad trade just then.

CO-OPERATIVE PRODUCTION.

Another suggestion made to him was that co-operators should start mills. Well, he would tell his shopkeeping friends that he would welcome them as competitors. They would find out some of the difficulties in production, and would perhaps find that they who complained about their employers had not so much reason to do so. He had heard on the one hand that the Lancashire Co-operative Mills had been a success, on the other hand he had been told they were failures. He was inclined to the first view, otherwise they would not continue to exist. As they had been successful with cotton, by all means let them try worsted. They would find worsted more difficult to manage than cotton, as it cost more and a great deal depended on the purchase of the raw material at the right time, as well as upon the sale of the manufactured article at the right time. All production was more difficult than distribution, as it required more organisation under a captain of industry to whom implicit obedience must be given. In his opinion a productive business could not be managed by a committee. It required a person with

exceptional ability and brain power. Although they could manage their distributive concern more cheaply than he could, they would be startled at the price demanded by brains in a productive concern. By all means they should make the attempt, his advice to them was, however, "Don't risk any money that you can't afford to lose."

ECONOMIC PROBLEMS.

Continuing, Mr. Forster said he came to a more difficult task which had also been set him by Mr. Schofield, it was to find an answer to the question "Would co-operation do away with excessive wealth on the one hand and with poverty on the other. That was a hard question, and he had studied it carefully. He had hoped it would diminish poverty, but he could not say it would diminish excessive wealth. Basing his judgment on the experience of the United States, where, he said, the effects of any new movement could be seen much quicker than anywhere else, there they found the largest accumulations of wealth in the shortest time of anywhere. As evidence, he pointed to the many millionaires there, and on inquiry it would be found, he asserted, that they had obtained such positions by simply adopting the same principles as co-operators. They co-operated in railroads and other great works which enabled them to buy and sell shares and to accumulate large fortunes. Therefore he could not say that he felt certain co-operation would diminish excessive wealth. With regard to the other question Mr. Forster said the working class were better off than formerly, and in proof of the same he referred to the report read by



Mr. Hopkinson, which stated the prices of goods were much lower than ever before, and he himself knew that wages were higher, therefore to that extent things were better. Still there was a class, the very lowest, who he did not think were any better than before, but these were a problem to themselves. There was one phase of the labour problem, however, that gave him great pleasure, and that was that the relation between the employer and the employed was much better than formerly. In concluding his lengthy address Mr. Forster exhorted his hearers to go on in their good work and advocacy for the peace of the world, as he believed that was a matter that concerned them more than any other class.

At the conclusion of the address Mr. Hopkinson said as soon as the Directors knew that Mr. Forster had consented to occupy the chair that night, they decided to present him with a souvenir of the occasion, consequently they ordered from one of the most co-operative productive societies in Scotland, viz. :—The Paisley Co-operative Manufacturing Society, a plaid for himself and a shawl for Mrs. Forster, and therefore he had the greatest pleasure in asking his acceptance of the same.

In acknowledging the gifts Mr. Forster said he had been thanked many times in that hall, but he never remembered having received such a touching expression of gratitude. The gifts would give them both reason to remember the working men of Bradford, and also to feel stronger sympathy with them in their great cause of co-operation.

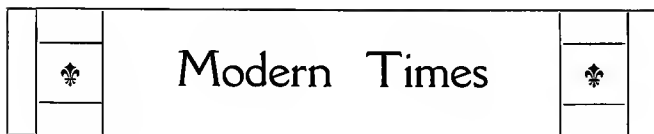
Addresses were afterwards delivered by Lloyd Jones (London), and J. T. W. Mitchell, to whom a vote of thanks

was accorded on the motion of Mr. S. Shaftoe, seconded by Mr. C. Woodrow. The Chairman was also thanked for his services on the motion of the President, Mr. Joseph Wilson, seconded by Mr. J. Hewitt.

The result of such a meeting could only be to give a further impetus to the Society's business, as indicated in the succeeding chapters. Co-operation in Bradford was now no longer confined to the working classes as a means of increasing their scanty wages, or looked upon as a highly interesting experiment advocated by ministers of religion, as an object lesson in temperance and thrift, but defended and upheld by a great Cabinet Minister who had already done much to show, by his great scheme of education, that the success of a nation did not depend solely on the strength of its armaments, and described and hailed by him as a new system of industry and commerce, calculated to usher in an era of peace among the nations of the world.



1886—1889



CHAPTER XIX.

New Rules and District Representation—Qualifications of Directors—Appointment of General Manager—In Search of a Farm—Productive Works for Airedale—Mr. J. M. Stead as President—False Economy—Police Rewarded—Evasions by the Tong Local Board—Metal Check System Condemned—Directors Snubbed by the Mayor.

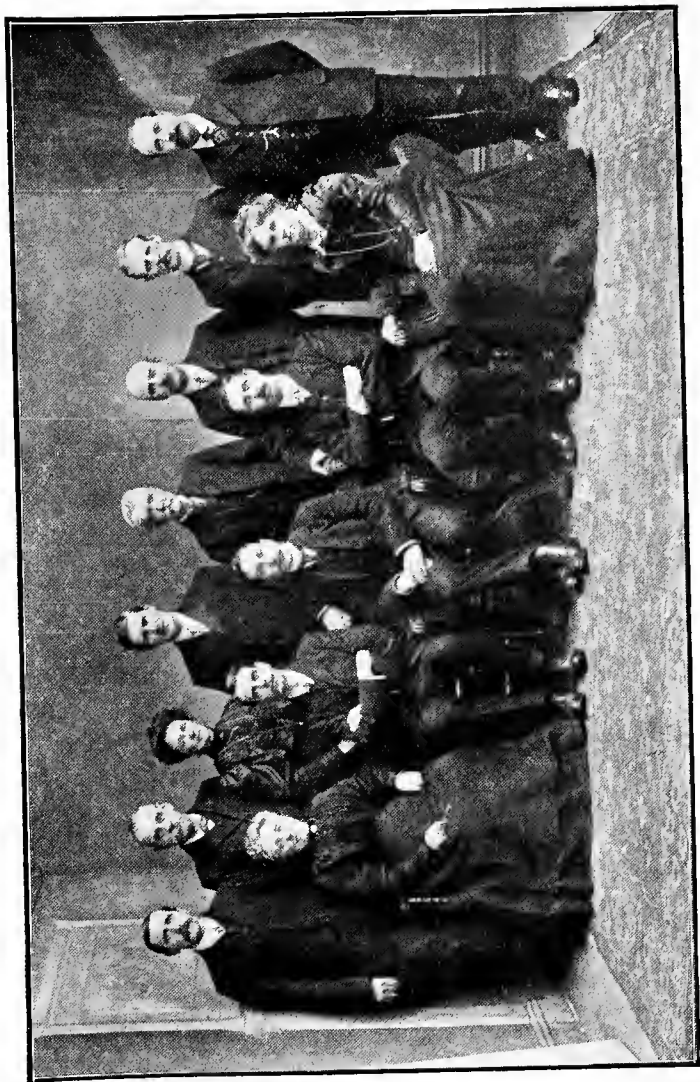
We have now arrived at a period in this history when many of the principal actors are still alive ; it therefore becomes somewhat of a delicate task to chronicle their actions and to place in their proper relation the events in which they took a prominent part. Judged by the results as we now know them some of the schemes seem to have been wrongly devised or might have been better if they had been carried out in a different manner. Of course it is always easier to criticise after the event than to plan out for the future. Still it must be admitted that the Society progressed even under the almost unlikely conditions that then prevailed. What makes the task of the writer more difficult is the fact that when questioned

with regard to their reasons for certain actions these individuals—if the affair turned out a failure or did not become the success anticipated—generally have defective recollections and their evidence is not quite in accordance with the records in the minute book. It therefore becomes necessary to exercise a certain amount of discrimination in stating the facts. Still, it is more probable that the written record will be a more faithful reflex of what was done than the memory of those who actually took part in the affairs.

When the new rules came into force whereby district representation on the Board of Management was set up, a big rush of candidates must have been expected, for the Directors immediately ordered a thousand nomination forms to be printed. Possibly they thought each family connected with the Society would supply a candidate. Then among the arrangements for ascertaining as to who were the likeliest persons for the position, it was decided at the general meeting that each candidate, in answer to his name, should walk across the platform, but to prevent him from influencing votes in his favour he was not to be allowed to speak. This was certainly election by appearances. The best looking man would be sure to secure the first claim on the numerous ladies present. That a Director of a large society does require certain qualifications for the post must be admitted by anyone who considers the magnitude of the trade done, but the peculiar nature and versatile character of the same can only be derived from a perusal of the minute book. For instance: "It was resolved that the flood at No. 6 be left to the representative Director"; again, "That the soil



for the sixteen houses which are nearing completion be left in the hands of Mr. J. Mallinson"; "That the Secretary be authorised to fix the seal of the Society to Fearnside's property." Another, "That Elgie's property be not entertained"; "That we don't entertain the Fire Extinguisher"; "That we don't entertain Proctor Brothers on Victor Terrace at present"; "That the vinegar bottle at No. 11 be left with the representative." As an indication of the power of a Director the following resolution may be satisfactory: "If there is any drapery in any of the stores that is not selling, the stocktaker is requested to look at it." No doubt that would be sufficient. It would sell itself after that. It will be seen therefore that a director should be both physically and mentally a giant so to speak, but even then at times he must have felt unequal to the task, as for instance when it was decided "That the almanack be taken as read by Mr. Schofield." Perhaps listening to a recital of twelve months' dates would be too dry. It might, however, explain the necessity for the vinegar bottle in the custody of No. 11 representative. Technical skill was also essential in a director, for the notice was ordered to be posted in the stores intimating to the members "That the present system of milling requires a little more moisture in the mode of baking," can best be understood after the perusal of another resolution whereby a special vote of thanks was conveyed to Mr. James Clark (a Director) for "baking three separate half-stones of flour and that his report of the exact quantity produced from the same be accepted." If such a test were to be applied to the Directorate to-day it is a question how many could comply



EDUCATION COMMITTEE.



with such a condition, and yet during the recent jubilee celebration more than one Director entered for the clothes washing competition which was held during the exhibition week.

There is a record about this time that illustrates the pleasant relationship existing between the individuals comprising the Board of Management which says: "Resolved that the generous offer of Mr. J. Mallison, senior, be accepted with thanks, viz. :—That the committee partake of tea with him on Saturday evening, December 4th, 1886, for which he will bear the expense, and that it be catered for by Mr. Joe Firth at his Temperance Hotel, off Leeds Road. Tea to be on the tables at 6 o'clock." It should be mentioned here that at this time there were two persons of the same name, father and son, on the directorate.

One of the results following the great meeting in St. George's Hall was the holding of a conference between the Directors, all past Directors, and several prominent members of the Society, in the Temperance Hall, at which a discussion took place as to the best means of increasing the business of the Society. Who the speakers were or what conclusion was arrived at is not recorded, but shortly afterwards it was decided to advertise for a general manager for the Society. After various inquiries were made it was further decided to appoint Mr. W. Atkinson, from Little Hulton, to the post at a salary of £2 10s. per week.

The period was one of quiet but steady progress. A great deal of the time of the Directors was taken up with the building of houses on the Manningham Estate, the

details of which were mentioned at every meeting of the board, besides which there was also some new shop being erected either in a new district or to replace a rented shop in a part where the membership had outgrown the accommodation thought sufficient in earlier days. The position of affairs was, just then, that out of twenty-six places of business twenty were the property of the Society. So it can be readily understood that with all these building arrangements in hand the Directors had little time to bother with the details of buying and selling groceries, hence the necessity for a manager.

The advice given by the Rt. Hon. W. E. Forster in his address at St. George's Hall for co-operators to keep off the land, seems soon to have been forgotten, at least by some of the Directors, for there are a large number of references to the purchase of a farm by the Society, and although at this period the minute book does not record the name of the proposer of a resolution it can be readily seen by the repeated mention of the subject that someone was pushing this question to the front in season and out of season. The farm was located at Bunker's Hill, up Barkerend Road, and belonged to a Mr. Raynor.

It was visited by various committees, and eventually it was decided to pay him £240 for valuation "provided all the goods are upon it as valued by Mr. Robertshaw." It seems the directors were dissatisfied about it somehow and Mr. Robertshaw was called in to arbitrate. Then the above resolution was passed, and an instruction given that the Seal of the Society should be affixed to the agreement, but the question of a caretaker was to stand over. Mr. Schofield does not seem to have been satisfied with the



arrangement, for there seem to have been negotiations between him and the head butcher, Mr. Pape, and the last of the matter is contained in a record "that Raynor should come before the Board to explain why he has withdrawn his acceptance of our offer for the valuation of his farm." Whether Raynor attended or not is not mentioned, but a few months later the Building Committee were instructed to view land and buildings at Cutler Heights Lane, so it may be assumed the negotiations failed. Whatever the cause of the disagreement between Raynor and the Directors, there can be no question about the advantages of a farm at Cutler Heights over that at Bunker's Hill. The one is in the country while the other is surrounded by houses and mills, the smoke from which must have been very detrimental to the growing of grass, which was the reason for securing a farm. It should be mentioned, however, that there was some intimation that the slaughterhouse in Sturges Street would soon have to be closed, and it is possible that the Cutler Heights scheme included a new slaughterhouse.

It may be interesting to some to know that it was about this period that the Directors of the Bradford Society were in active operation with some of the neighbouring societies to secure the establishment of co-operative productive works in Yorkshire, and that it was at a conference held in Bradford, under the auspices of the Airedale District Association, that a Committee, consisting of representatives of the Airedale and Dewsbury District Associations ; the Co-operative Wholesale Society ; and the Central Board of the Co-operative Union, was appointed to inquire as to the desirability of establishing

a Ready-made Clothing Factory in Leeds. Such a factory was afterwards established by the Co-operative Wholesale Society at which about 700 persons find employment.

At the half-yearly meeting held in the Mechanics' Institute on May 3rd, 1887, the chair was occupied by Mr. J. M. Stead, who had succeeded Mr. Joseph Wilson as President. He stated the rate of profit being made by the Society as £500 per week. At this meeting it was decided to increase the amount of capital invested in the Halifax Flour Society to £3000, and that in the Sowerby Bridge Flour Society to £2000. For the first time Thomson's Mill at Huddersfield was mentioned, and £10 invested therein. A grant was made of £25 towards the Neale Scholarship, and the members declared themselves in favour of opening an establishment in the centre of the town.

Some idea that the Directors, although making a profit of £500 per week, were not extravagant in their ideas may be gathered from a decision arrived at on June 16th, 1887, "That new oilcloth be got for the Cashier's Office, and that the oilcloth of the Cashier's Office be laid in the Manager's Office, and that the oilcloth of the Manager's Office be utilised in the warehouse." It seems that such cheese-paring methods did not save much, for within a month it was found necessary to get new oilcloth for the Manager's Office.

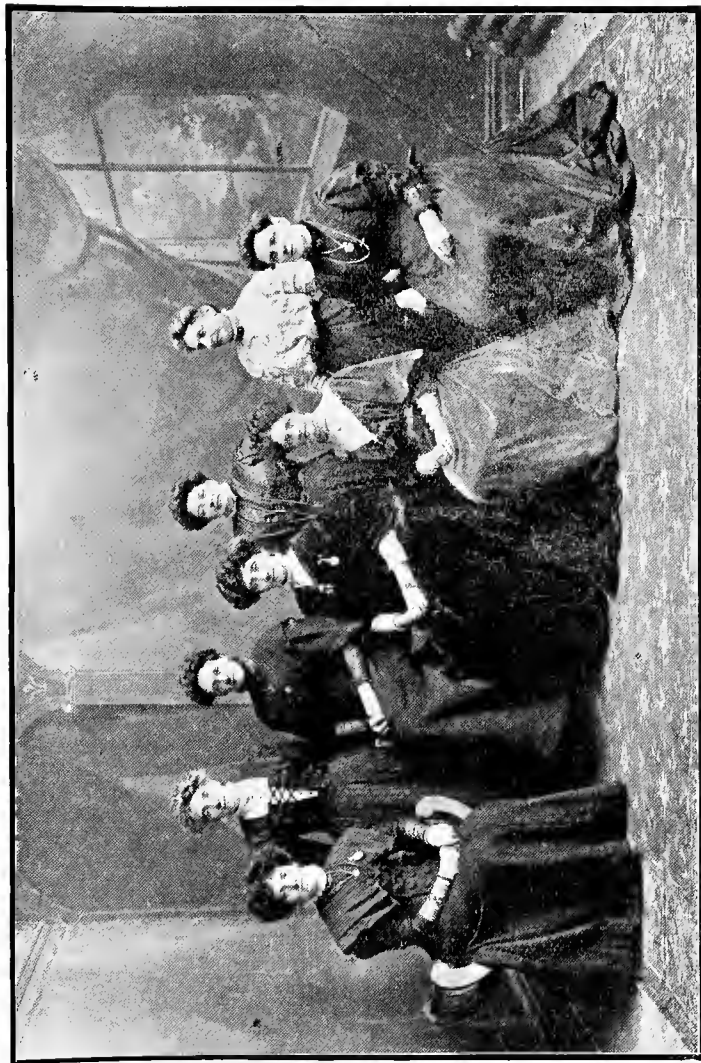
Among the changes after the annual meeting which was held in the Technical College, Horton Road, was the appointment of Mr. Joseph Crabtree as President in place of Mr. Stead. Mr. F. W. Jowett also, who is now the Member of Parliament for West Bradford, was returned



at this election, and at once began that apprenticeship in the service of his fellows that has eventually developed into placing him in the House of Commons.

Early in 1888 a record runs as follows:—"That the thanks of the Directors of the Bradford Provident Industrial Society be given to P.C. Hardcastle for his gallant and clever capture of John Hewson, who broke into the Society's Store, No. 2 White Abbey, on Sunday morning last, and that a copy of this resolution be sent to the Chairman of the Watch Committee of the Bradford Town Council." Further than this the Directors rewarded the constable with ten shillings, and a person who helped him, Joseph Firth by name, with five shillings. This was followed shortly afterwards by a resolution which points to the idea that while the Directors were grateful for the services of the police, they still thought prevention would be better than cure, for it was decided "That the licence for the dog in the boot department be paid by the Society." Evidently someone else had paid that before, or possibly the getting of the dog was a suggestion from a committee that had been appointed to see that the Society's premises were made more secure.

From this time forward there are numerous references to meetings and deputations both to and from the Tong Local Board with regard to the land at Cutler Heights Lane purchased from them. The nature of the difficulties are not mentioned, but the negotiations were so prolonged that Mr. Crabtree had ceased to occupy the presidential chair, and Mr. M. Hopwood had received the appointment, before they were concluded. Even then it had been necessary to have letters addressed to the Tong Local



WEST BOWLING WOMEN'S GUILD.

Board by Mr. Hutchinson, the Society's legal adviser, to get them to stick to the bargain agreed upon many months before. Therefore it looks as if, here again, the Local Board, just as with the Town Council on a previous occasion, thought because they were dealing with working-men they could do as they pleased, but evidently they found out they were mistaken in the idea, for they were compelled to complete the "conveyance without the conditions since added by them."

Besides seeing the farm question settled, the Directors, during 1889, were faced with one or two problems that required careful handling. Among these there was a suspicion that the metal check system was being tampered with. A considerable number of checks in excess of the total sales were being brought in at the end of each half-year. At the May meeting that year it was reported that checks to the value of £2228 were handed in above the total amount of the actual sales. One member brought in so many, and it was well-known he had not expended anything like that amount of money, that he was challenged on the matter. He promised to supply the Directors with the names and addresses of the persons from whom he had obtained them, but this he failed to do. It was therefore decided to send for Mr. Clare, the inventor of a new check system, who came and explained his method to the Directors, who thanked him and there the matter rested for a time.

Although the Society was now gaining in importance day by day, as a commercial undertaking, seeing it had a turnover of about a quarter of a million pounds per year, it did not seem to grow in favour with the civic authorities,

in fact it was the other way round. In its early days Councillors and Aldermen were frequent attenders at all the meetings, and the Society was recognised as a coming Bradford institution, but the position was altered when it had grown to such dimensions as to make its power felt in the trade of the town, and in place of courting it, as formerly was the case, it now received the cold shoulder. This may be illustrated by a copy of a resolution passed in July, 1889. "That the Secretary be instructed to write Alderman W. Moulson, Mayor of Bradford, and to present the compliments of the Directors of the Bradford Provident Society, and stating that they would feel obliged if his worship would present them with 16 tickets on the occasion of the reception of the Shah of Persia in St. George's Hall."

Ten days later a reply was received, the purport of which may be gathered from the following: "That the Secretary acknowledge the letter of the Town Clerk and say the Directors are disappointed at such a large Society being passed over without representation." Matters in this direction have not materially improved since then. One never knows, but it may have been due to the fact leaking out of the Board Room that just previously a resolution had been passed that "no more rates or taxes be paid until investigations have been made as to the rateable value of the Society's property." Such things have occurred, and Corporations have not been above taking action of the kind by way of retaliation on those with whom they may be in conflict.

During a portion of this year Mr. Schofield was absent from business owing to a severe illness, and it is satisfactory to note the kindly references to him in the minutes



of the period. Although absent he still maintained his position, for one reference is in the nature of a vote of thanks for his draft report, and expresses the hope that he would soon be restored to them.

Another alteration this year was the adoption of the ballot system in the election of Directors. In future the voting would be done at the stores in place of at the meetings, and a special committee composed of Messrs. B. Sykes, J. Pickles, H. Parker, P. Burgon, John Sharp, and Alfred Firth were appointed to see the scheme carried through.

This year, too, saw the end of the "Little Wonder Inn," which had been the property of the Society since 1870. It was now finally agreed to close it as a licensed house, and to make it suitable for a co-operative business. A similar proposition had been passed nineteen years previously, but circumstances at the time prevented its being carried out.



1890—1892



CHAPTER XX.

Removal of an Incubus—Trivial Resolutions—Difficulties with Birkenshaw Removed—New Premises for Boot Department—Bradford Cabinet Makers' Society—Early Closing Granted—The Manningham Strike and the Society—Start of Women's Guild and Education Department—Another great Co-op. Festival.

Among the records at the opening of 1890 is one that must have been a great relief to the Directors, as it contains the information that the last plot of land on the Manningham Estate had been sold. For some fourteen years this purchase had provided endless work for the Directors; they were either acting as land agents, architects, or house builders, and much of the time that should have been devoted to the principal business of the Society was taken up in this way.

Relieved of this incubus for a time the Directors seem to have had more time for detail work, but the following records border almost on the frivolous: "That a letter be sent to Mr. Swailes requesting him to find his wife more domestic work at home." "That Mrs. Wroe be given



the sum of one pound as a gratuity for losing her cheques." Here is a sample of trivial work: "That notices be sent from this office to all places of business saying that the Board has passed a resolution prohibiting the keeping of bicycles and tricycles there." Evidently this has become a dead letter to-day.

There is more satisfaction in the following record, however, although it is of a personal character. "That the thanks of the Board be given to Mr. Crabtree for his services on the Board of Management of the Bradford Infirmary during the last four years."

One more sample that may some day be used as a precedent: "That we allow Mr. Morrell to fix a board on our premises in Rochester Street announcing the Band Performances in the Park." Many more such as this could be given to show how the members seem to have an idea that if they individually are interested in any institution or movement they have a claim on the Society to assist them in it.

That more important matters were transacted goes without saying: for instance, at this period there was a question between the Directors and the Birkenshaw Society with regard to a store at Dudley Hill whereby overlapping, or, as Mr. Schofield put it, a "serious collision," between the two Societies was avoided. Then there was the most important question of changing the check system to be discussed, which ended in the adoption of the Eccles system, but only in the tailoring, drapery, and boot departments. Besides which the plans for the new slaughterhouse in Cutler Heights Lane were being fixed into shape. Again a special committee, consisting of

Messrs. Cotter, Woodcock, Waddington, Jowett, and Clegg, had been busy for some time seeking new premises for either the boot or tailoring departments so as to relieve the Bridge Street premises which were now decidedly overcrowded. Likely premises were found in New Kirkgate, and it was decided to remove the boot department, at the same time laying down new machinery and putting the department on an entirely new footing. A lease of the premises was taken for several years at a rental of £150 per year, and Mr. Thomas Smith, the present manager, was appointed salesman on the ground floor. This was a great jump, and showed that the Directors were now able to take a much more extended view of the possibilities of the Society. It was also during this period that the Bradford Co-operative Cabinet Makers' Society came upon the scene and made an appeal for assistance with regard to capital and trade, and were granted both. No doubt the appearance of this new society would influence the Directorate in running a furniture department of their own, for it is recorded a little later that Mr. Isaac Beck be appointed to take charge of the new furnishing department in Bridge Street.

Before the year closed it was decided to close the stores at 7 p.m. on Saturdays, thus giving the employees another advantage over their fellow-workers in other concerns.

The Christmas of 1890 and the beginning of 1891 will long be remembered in Bradford as the period of the strike at Manningham Mills. With the points in dispute we have nothing to do in this history, and yet it must be referred to, as in the first week in the new year a special meeting of the members of the Society was held in the Church



Institute, over which Mr. Hopwood presided. The object of the meeting was to consider the best means of relieving the distress arising out of the strike at Manningham Mills. The proposal submitted by the Directors was to allow the members trading at Silk Street and Heaton Syke Stores, who were affected by the strike, to obtain their goods on credit. To do this legally they asked the meeting to temporarily suspend the latter portion of Rule 19, which states that "the business of the Society shall be conducted for ready money." This was rejected by the meeting, although a majority of the Board voted for it. Another motion was proposed by one of the members, this time to the effect "That the Directors be empowered to pay out of the reserve fund of the Society the sum of £40 weekly to the Manningham Mills Strike Fund for five weeks should the strike continue so long, but not to exceed the sum of £200 altogether." To this another amendment was proposed as follows:—"Seeing that this meeting has already voted against any credit being allowed, this meeting is of opinion that the voting of any of the funds of the Society is illegal." Mr. Hopwood, however, would not accept this amendment, and the motion was put to the meeting, for and against, with the understanding that it should first be ascertained if such action could be legally taken, and was agreed to.

At a public meeting of the strikers held afterwards, the announcement was made that the Co-operative Society was going to assist them to the extent of £40 per week, which gave great satisfaction. But before the first instalment could be handed over Mr. Hutchinson gave his legal advice that it was against the rules and could not be

done. So much controversy arose with regard to the chairman's ruling at this meeting by those who were opposed to the decision arrived at that the Board thought it wise to fortify themselves with the best advice on the proper manner of deciding such questions, and at the next committee meeting it was decided to order a copy of "Blaggs on Public Meetings," and also of Chambers' "Mode of Conducting Meetings, with the Duties of the Chairman." That sufferers through the strike should not go altogether without assistance the Directors also decided to allow voluntary subscription boxes to be placed prominently in the stores.

It was during all this industrial trouble that a branch of the Women's Co-operative Guild was formed in connection with the Society, for on March 24th, 1891, the Directors appointed Mr. Woodcock to meet Miss M. Llewellyn Davies (General Secretary of the Women's Co-operative Guild), who had been asked to come and establish the branch. The Directors showed every sympathy with the proposed guild, and besides paying other expenses, agreed that the branch might hold its meetings in the hall above the store in Manchester Road. The Guild was duly formed, with Mrs. Schofield, wife of the cashier, as President.

It may be recalled by many persons that about this period there was a wave of sympathy with the industrial workers throughout the country, and labour questions were being keenly discussed on every hand. Bradford was no exception to the rule. If anything the Manningham Lockout only accentuated matters, for at the public meetings that were held on behalf of those locked out the



general question of a living wage came prominently to the front, and when an offer came to the inhabitants of a course of lectures on Political Economy from the University of Oxford they were accepted by the Philosophical Society, who in turn approached the Trades Unions and Co-operative Societies to share in the cost. Thus it came about that the Directors passed a resolution to ask Mr. E. V. Neale (legal adviser to the Co-operative Union) if their rules would permit of them contributing towards such a scheme. This constitutes the first step towards educational work by the Society. The rules must have permitted, for at the next half-yearly meeting the members granted a sum of £25 to the Directors to provide district teas, lectures, &c. At the same meeting it was also decided to divide the Society into seven districts for election purposes, each district to have two representatives, and who were only to be voted for in their own several districts, thus establishing a form of government known as district representation.

Before the end of this year the Directors came to the decision that sufficient time had elapsed since the members had had an opportunity for a united gathering, seeing it would shortly be seven years since Mr. Forster made his memorable speech. It was no sooner agreed upon than steps were taken to make what the records designate "The Festival" a huge success. St. George's Hall was engaged, but difficulties arose with regard to the Chairman and the speakers, for something like ten weeks elapsed before they were finally fixed up. First of all it was decided that "Mr. A. H. Dyke-Acland be asked to preside at the Festival, and that Mr. Tom Mann be asked

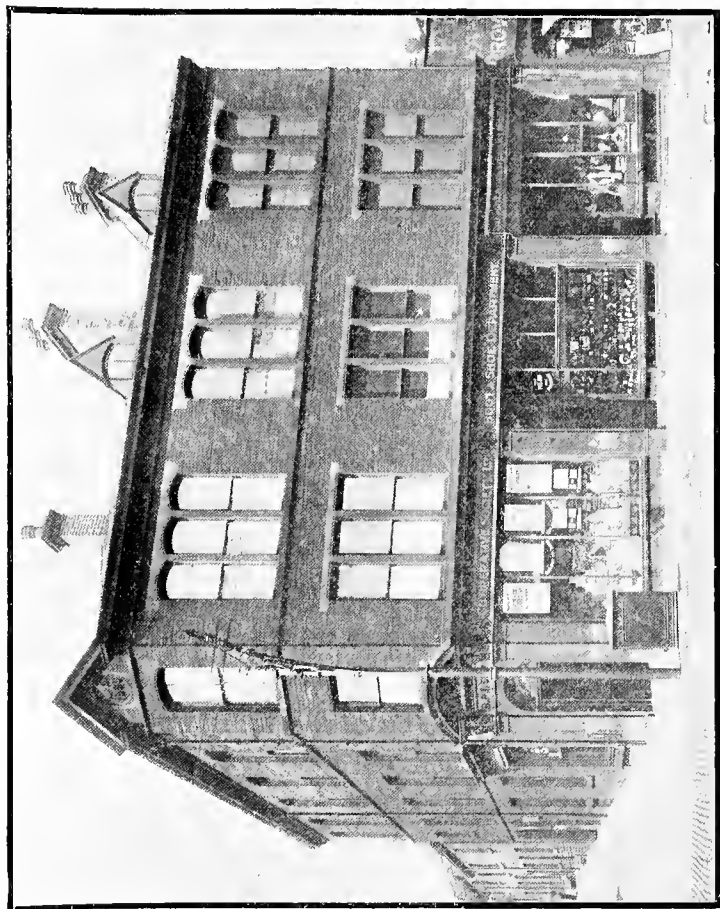
to speak." Evidently both were unable to accept the invitation, for several days afterwards it was decided to ask Mr. William Maxwell, of Scotland, to preside, and Mr. George Thomson, of Huddersfield, to speak. Later still Mr. J. T. W. Mitchell, Chairman of the Co-operative Wholesale Society, was asked to preside, and Dr. Anderson, Horton Lane Congregational Chapel, to speak, then follow similar applications to the Rev. Rhondda Williams; Mr. E. O. Greening, of London; and also Mr. Duncan McInnes, of Lincoln. The time was drawing nigh and still no settlement had been arrived at when it was agreed to ask Mr. H. B. Priestman, this also failed, and finally it was decided to ask Mr. Smith Feather, and if he declined then Mr. M. Hopwood, President of the Society, should be announced as Chairman. Mr. Feather accepted, and in due course the Festival was held on January 30th, 1892, in St. George's Hall. On the afternoon of the same day tea was served at seven different places in the town to several thousands of the members. It was certainly a great undertaking. To ensure that everything supplied was Co-operative, the Brighthouse Industrial Society was asked to provide the bread, and the teaspoons were purchased from the Co-operative Wholesale Society. These were afterwards sold to the ladies who waited on the tables. Describing the affair the *Bradford Observer* said it was one of the most imposing gatherings that had ever been held in St. George's Hall. Every foot of sitting and standing room in area, stalls, and galleries was occupied, and no small number were unable to gain admission. The chief object it was stated was to hear an address from Tom Mann, who had been doing his best



to infuse new life into the trades unions and co-operative movement, and to ally them as being essentially supplementary to each other.

Alderman Smith Feather occupied the chair, and was accompanied by Mr. Tom Mann, Miss M. Llewelyn Davies, General Secretary of the Women's Co-operative Guild, Mr. John Shillito, a Director of the Co-operative Wholesale Society, and about eighty representatives from neighbouring societies.

The proceedings commenced with the singing by the whole audience of Eliza Cook's "Nobleness of Labour." Then followed a report of the Society's remarkable progress since 1881. At that date the sales were £133,000 for the year. For 1891 they had amounted to £256,497, being an increase of £123,497. In spite of the individual shares having been reduced from £200 to £80 the total for the Society had risen from £70,000 to £130,212. The membership had also risen, and at the end of 1891 numbered 11,256. The Society possessed twenty-nine grocery stores; twenty-eight butcher's shops; three drapery branches; and one each for tailoring, furniture, and boots and shoes. The shares and loans in other societies and mortgages amounted to £59,504, while 142 houses and shops, all well tenanted, were further assets. Extensive premises for slaughtering cattle were nearly ready, costing about £6000. In course of erection were a store and four houses at Heaton Syke, also a store and eight houses at Leamington Street. The profits during 1891 amounted to £42,975, which enabled them to pay a dividend of 2s. 10d. in the pound. There was also a reserve fund which amounted to £5000.



MANCHESTER ROAD STORES.



After this report had been read the Chairman said co-operation had his hearty sympathy and support. When he married, some twenty-eight years before, he became a contributor to a building society, while his wife became a member of the Co-operative Society and was still a member. He also expressed the opinion that the two movements went well together, and believed all young couples getting married could not do better than follow his example, for it was as necessary to have a house of one's own as it was to have a good supply of food and clothing.

Mr. P. J. Henry, on behalf of the employees of the Society, then presented Mr. G. H. Hopkinson with a handsome timepiece and side ornaments for his twenty-three years' service in the Society. In accepting the gift Mr. Hopkinson expressed his great surprise at the presentation, which had been kept a secret. It was true, he said, he had entered upon the second year of his fourth apprenticeship, but during all that time he had found a great deal of delight and pleasure in his occupation.

Mr. Tom Mann, who spoke for an hour, and was received with great enthusiasm, urged his hearers to seek in trades unionism and co-operation an agency for the evolution of a good industrial system, and specially called the attention of co-operators to the fact that in stopping short at distribution they had left the most important part of their task unfulfilled. It devolved upon them to show workingmen and women, employers and politicians the way out of the industrial difficulties—the way to prevent the accumulation of piles of wealth on the one hand, and the terrible misery on the other. It was the duty of



co-operators, he said, to learn to understand where the industrial evils of the day lay, and how they could be avoided in the future. Besides being trade unionists all workmen should be co-operators, and should see that while they received a fair day's wage themselves, this should be spent to the best advantage in the store where the goods had been made under fair conditions, for by no other means could they cope with the deplorable sweating evil. They must have no more piteous appeals to capitalists to be kind to them, they must work out their own salvation quietly and steadily but effectively, and also supplement such voluntary efforts by carrying their principles into their Town Councils.

Miss Llewelyn Davies, who also spoke, dwelt chiefly on the importance of the women being aroused to take action in both movements. In co-operation they held the key to the position. When they understood such matters better she was sure they would not refuse to help their husbands and brothers in their struggle for liberty.

The musical programme was contributed by Miss Bertha Rigg, Mrs. Florence Webster, Mr. C. Blagbro, and Mr. W. Thornton, the humorist being Mr. Byron Atkinson. Mrs. M. Cottam officiated at the piano, and Mr. Benjamin Wilkinson on the organ.



In taking the events as they arise in the records, the first to draw attention after the Festival referred to in the last chapter is the statement that the new slaughterhouse was completed and that Mr. M. Bakes was appointed to present the President with a key on the occasion of the opening.

It was true that the slaughterhouse was ready for the transference of the business from Sturges Street to Cutler Heights Lane, but as for completion, well, there have been very many accounts paid on behalf of the slaughterhouse since then. The formal opening was a semi-public affair, at which delegates were present from several neighbouring societies, along with the Directors, Managers, and a number of friends. Seeing that it took place on the Wednesday, that is, in the middle of the week, it shows that it was not intended to be a public function. Mr. M. Hopwood was presented with a gold key, after which he declared the premises open for business. Tea was served on the premises and a pleasant social evening spent afterwards. As already mentioned the buildings were not entirely completed, for almost every year since additions have been going on, and Mr. George Pape, the Manager, has expressed the hope that they never will be completed in his day, for then it would show the Society had come to the limit of its trade. It is no boast to say that on this estate the Society possesses one of the finest abattoirs in the country. It is no uncommon sight to see deputations from Corporations, as well as Co-operative Societies from various parts of the country, inspecting the place.

Events were moving rapidly, however; a new Committee was appointed, consisting of Messrs. Hopwood,



Milner, Clegg, and Jowett, to look out for a suitable site for new central premises. Within a month it was decided to purchase the property at the corner of Godwin Street and Sunbridge Road. There were several owners to treat with, but all were agreeable and a bargain was struck for a sum of about £12,500.

It was next decided to discard the old metal check system and replace it with the "Climax," a triplicate paper check. All the Managers were invited to a kind of coffee supper, at which the new check system was explained to them and their co-operation in working the new scheme urged upon them. Ten thousand handbills were issued announcing that after October 3rd, 1892, metal checks would no longer be recognised.

At the annual meeting in November, 1892, the first of the changes among the Society's permanent staff took place. Mr. Schofield, the oldest servant in the employment, resigned his position as Treasurer, which the meeting very reluctantly accepted, but so as not to lose his services altogether appointed him as property agent at a small retaining salary. Mr. Hopkinson was elected Treasurer, and Mr. Ezra Greenwood, Chief Clerk, was promoted to the vacant Secretaryship.

A few months later Mr. Schofield was presented with a bookcase by the employees as a mark of their esteem for him.

About the middle of the year the Directors were offered a bakery in full working order which had belonged to a large firm who had been strong rivals to the Society. A Special Committee, along with the Architect and General Manager, Mr. Atkinson, were sent to view the premises



BOWLING OLD LANE



WESTFIELD ROAD

and plant, but their report was unfavourable to the purchase of the same. While no arrangement was come to just then, the idea of starting in the bakery business once more took hold of several members of the Board, but the more urgent claims of the new central premises carried the day, and a scheme for erecting a new wing to the property already purchased and raising the older portion a storey higher was adopted.

Within a few weeks afterwards the next break among the officials occurred. This can best be explained by the record in the minute book dated September, 1893. "Resolved that the Committee desire to place on record their deep regret at the great loss the Society has sustained through the lamentable death, after a short illness, of their esteemed manager, the late William Atkinson, who by his strict integrity and attention to his duties had won the confidence and respect of all with whom he came in contact."

It is satisfactory to know that the son of Mr. Atkinson is now in the service of the Society in the bakery department, and it is a coincidence that the last duty assigned to Mr. Atkinson was with reference to the re-starting of bread baking by the Society's own staff.

Mr. J. P. Henry, the present Manager, was appointed successor to Mr. Atkinson, but the business has so much increased that latterly an assistant in the person of Mr. Charles Blagbrough has had to be given him.

The annual meeting in November, 1893, may be taken as an illustration of the keen interest that was taken in the movement in consequence of the labour unrest which was common all over the country at that time. The

Temperance Hall was found to be far too small to accommodate all that were anxious to take part in the proceedings, and before the business proper began Mr. Cowgill made a strong protest against the meeting being held there seeing the Labour Institute, in Peckover Street, was so close at hand and would be able to hold twice as many persons as where they were. Mr. M. Hopwood, who presided, explained that the Directors had endeavoured to obtain the Mechanics' Institute, and also the Central Hall, but both were engaged.

In moving the adoption of the report the Chairman referred sympathetically to the loss the Society had sustained through the death of Mr. Atkinson. Referring to the balance sheet he stated that the warm weather and the great coal strike had affected the dividend somewhat. This gave a well-known critic of the period, named Wyatt, his cue, for he immediately attempted to prove that other commodities besides coal had affected the dividend, and in doing so laid the blame on high prices. Then the new check system came in for a share of adverse criticism, several members objecting to the small pieces of paper which they received as being more likely to be lost than the metal checks. This was followed by Mr. Firth objecting to Mr. Hopwood occupying the dual position of President of the Halifax Flour Society as well as of his own Society.

In reply to this Mr. Hopwood pointed to the strong feeling in favour of co-operative production then prevailing. His position on the Halifax Board was in consequence of the large amount of capital the Bradford Co-operators had at stake in the Halifax concern.



Mr. Joseph Bentley (son of one of the very earliest officials of the Society) then drew attention to the growing tendency to bait the Directors at these meetings in place of using their opportunities to further the interest of co-operation and the Society, which was applauded. After this several trade unionists brought forward a number of inquiries about the tailoring department, and also the wages of the masons engaged on the new building. The discussion was prolonged to such an extent that the matter was eventually adjourned to a special meeting to be held on 20th February, 1894.

As the year 1893 was drawing towards a close Mr. Schofield, the old and well-tried servant of the Society, passed away; he did not long survive his severance from the work he loved so well. He was only sixty-one years of age, but it was said he worked many times when he should have rested, and therefore crowded into his life as much as might be placed to the credit of two ordinary persons. The funeral took place the day after Christmas at Scholemoor Cemetery, and was attended by a large number of friends, among whom were the Directors of the Society, representatives from the Halifax and Sowerby Bridge Flour Societies, the Bradford Co-operative Cabinet Makers, and many old co-operators such as Abram Sharp, Edmund Gilyard, Ben Broadbent, Joseph Crabtree, William Farrar, E. Varley, W. Clegg, M. Bakes, and John Robinson.

Before the special meeting in February could be held, however, an event happened that materially altered the aspect of affairs, as it gave the members something more to think about than the tailors' or masons' wages which had so disturbed the annual meeting.

Mr. Schofield had not long been laid to rest when the Directors were called upon to follow another official to his grave. Mr. Ezra Greenwood, who had only a short time previously received the appointment of Secretary to the Society, passed away after a very brief spell of office.

The special meeting was held only two days before the funeral, and that may have had a softening influence on the more turbulent spirits present, for the only business recorded was the acceptance of reports from Messrs. Southern Richardson and H. A. Johnson, who had inquired into the charges made at the annual meeting. The result was the passing of a resolution expressing the unabated confidence of the meeting in the Committee of Management.

Within a few weeks of the above special meeting another was held (on March 14th) to appoint a successor to the late Secretary. This also was held in the Temperance Hall, which was far too small, as scores of members had to go away without getting near the door, let alone getting inside. It need scarcely be mentioned that great excitement prevailed. Mr. M. Hopwood presided, and before proceeding with the main business referred in very sympathetic terms to the death of Mr. Greenwood, whose promising career had so suddenly been cut short. He then proposed a vote of condolence with the mother and family of their deceased Secretary, which was assented to by the members rising from their seats. The following nominations for the vacant post were then made, viz. :—Mr. Joseph Bennett (Chief Clerk), Mr. Richard de Rome, Mr. M. Hopwood, and Mr. J. W. Woodcock.

Seeing he had been nominated Mr. Hopwood retired



from the chair. This placed the meeting in somewhat of a fix; eventually Mr. Ben Tate, the senior Director present, was voted to the position. The nomination of Mr. Woodcock was next considered, and after some discussion his candidature was ruled out of order, seeing he was an Auditor of the Society and had not resigned his position. Another long discussion took place on a motion by Mr. White (one of the auditors) in which he advocated that the position should be advertised. This found a deal of support, but was lost on a division by 296 to 218. Voting then took place on the remaining candidates, when Mr. Joseph Bennett was declared to be successful by an overwhelming majority, and has retained the position ever since.

The half-yearly meeting following the above was a stormy one. The Directors, having in mind the criticism about the size of the hall on the previous occasion, determined not to be caught on that score again, engaged St. George's Hall, as being the largest meeting place in the town; and it was well they did so, for there were about 3000 persons present, those occupying the stalls paying sixpence each for the privilege. Mr. Ben Tate again presided, having been elected President after the previous meeting. He had not got through his opening remarks before evidence of the temper of the meeting was revealed. There could be no mistaking what was intended. The remarks interjected as he proceeded to explain that the decrease in the sales, amounting to £17,000, was due to a lack of loyalty on the part of the members, as well as to the depression in the trade of the town, showed that many of the members had formed their own opinions on the



matter and were not prepared to accept his. The new paper check system, too, had not been worked successfully, and this formed a strong weapon of attack to several members, led by Mr. C. Wyatt, who complained that many of them were being defrauded of their proper dividend. Mr. W. Sullivan severely criticised the expenses of the new system, and another member inquired if he could not propose a return to the old tin check system.

Mr. Hopwood, who now spoke from the floor of the house, defended the system and pointed out that it had not had a fair trial. In the first place the superintendent who had been appointed to work the system fell ill at its very beginning, then the Secretary broke down during the middle of the period, so that for half the time there was no proper supervision, and on the top of all many of the members contributed to their own troubles by giving wrong numbers at the time of making their purchases. He also stated that where the system was properly worked it could be done for 3s. per £100, which was less than the metal check system. Mr. Joseph Bentley urged patience upon the members; most of the errors were due to their own fault, but time would remedy that, and they would gain knowledge by experience.

With reference to the decreased turnover Mr. A. Firth asserted that it was in consequence of the operation of the McKinley Tariff. Eventually the balance sheet was passed, and £3000 was granted for the purchase of property for trade extensions.

Then the friction broke out once more over the elections. The Secretary had rejected the nominations of two of the candidates because they had not been nominated



at the nearest store to which they resided. It was pointed out that such a distinction had neither been intended nor made before, but he defended himself by reading the rule which gave him the power to do so. The Chairman supported him by stating the rules must be carried out. This so incensed a member that he suggested the Directors should place their official upon a throne with a cloak around him and a crown upon his head. In the end Mr. Raney was nominated for the vacant position and was unanimously accepted by the meeting.

For some time after this matters ran in a more normal groove, and consolidation seemed to be the order of the day. Mr. T. Smith was instructed to take charge over the branch boot shop in Manchester Road as well as the Central in Kirkgate.

The Directors were busy for some time with a serious question of overlapping, and meetings were held between them and the Directors of the Great Horton Society with a view to settling the matter. After several meetings an agreement was arrived at whereby the Great Horton Directors promised to ask their members to withdraw from the branch at Four Lane Ends, and the Bradford Provident agreed to close their Shearbridge branch. Later on, when the matter was submitted to the respective Societies, the Great Horton members rejected the arrangement, while the Bradford members accepted it as being the best solution of a difficult problem, and therefore the shops still continue in their old positions.

Educational matters in the Society began to assume a more definite shape at this time, due to various causes, among them being an arrangement to work jointly with

an outside committee in the running of a course of University Extension Lectures on Political Economy, which proved very successful. These were given in the Temperance Hall by Mr. H. Llewelyn Smith, of Oxford, who took as his subject "The Production of Wealth." A limelight lantern was purchased, and a number of slides were borrowed from the Co-operative Union. Two public lectures were also given by Tom Mann in the Central Hall. Besides which a Men's Guild was formed which, after meeting in the old Coffee Tavern, Westgate, for a time received permission to use the Society's hall in Grafton Street, which was above the Manchester Road branch.

On June 15th, 1895, the new central premises in Sun-bridge Road were formally opened by Mr. Ben Tate. The ceremony was preceded by a parade through the town of a grand procession on a rather elaborate scale of lavishly decorated waggons containing exhibits of the various departments of the Society. Fortunately the day was fine, as the Society ran a considerable risk with the goods displayed. One lurry illustrated the coffee grinding process; the Airedale Manufacturing Society showed a loom in operation; the Hebden Bridge Society exhibited fustian goods; the two flour societies had several luries with flour; the Bradford Cabinet Makers showed suites of furniture; while the Society's own waggons carried samples of all manner of goods supplied to the members, even to an enormous block of coal from one of the collieries. Two bands were engaged, and as the procession, headed by the police and the banner of the Society, with the officials and many delegates in conveyances, passed through the streets, it attracted a great deal of attention. After



promenading the centre of the town the whole drew up in front of the Central Premises, where Mr. Tate was presented with a handsome key and declared the premises open.

In the evening a free public concert was given in St. George's Hall, which was crowded, notwithstanding it was summer time. The chair was occupied by Dr. Rabagliati, who referred to the rapid growth of the Society and the vast extension of its operations during the thirty-five years of its existence, and said it seemed to him that the Society was on a fair way towards solving some of the most difficult problems in commercial life, one of the objects being the elevation of the worker, which brought them face to face with commercial justice and as such should draw to them the sympathy of every right-minded person. Again, as co-operation fostered the spirit of goodwill and harmony it must promote peace between master and man, and thus avert industrial war. Only a century before the question had been asked "Was Co-operation possible?" The answer was there in the splendid business premises opened that day, which cost £26,000.

The concert was supplied by a quartette party consisting of Madame Emilie Norton, Miss Edna Thornton, Mr. C. Blagbro, and Mr. Willie Thornton, along with whom were Messrs. Oddy and Raistrick, humorists, and Mr. Paget Priestley, pianist.

The speakers for the evening were Mr. George Thomson, Huddersfield, and Mr. Arthur Brownfield, Stoke-upon-Trent. In his remarks Mr. Thomson said he had noticed that the Society had sold somewhere about four million pounds sterling worth of goods and had made over



HEATON SYKE.



WIBSEY.

£500,000 in profit. In justification for this he said if the condition of the people was to be improved, and the masses to have some comfort in life, they must take for themselves some of those profits which, in the past, had gone to swell the great fortunes of the country, and this was only possible by a more complete extension of co-operation. At this stage Mr. G. H. Hopkinson presented the chairman with a handsomely-bound copy of the Co-operative Wholesale Society's Annual for 1895, which the Dr. accepted and acknowledged.

Mr. Brownfield also addressed the gathering, and said the question of co-operation concerned many of them more deeply than they imagined. Co-operators had realised that the old industrial system of competition was played out, and that society must be re-constructed on a new foundation, having a basis of love and brotherhood in which the progress and development of each must be for the benefit and widest good of all.

It was a memorable occasion, and there are many living who can recall the whole affair.

It may be worth recording, however, that at that time the Bradford Provident stood eighth in the list of large societies in the country. Before it stood Leeds, Bolton, Barnsley, Newcastle, Oldham, Gateshead, and Pendleton. When the year closed the President's chair was occupied by Mr. S. Richardson.



of Miss Enid Stacey to give a course of lectures for the Society in the Assembly Rooms.

Among other internal changes worthy of mention was the dropping of the district electoral meetings, and the substitution of two meetings in the Assembly Rooms, so that the candidates could address the members. The opening of Duckworth Lane Store brought the year to a close. The next year was that of Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee, and to mark the event the Society subscribed £100 as a gift to the Children's Hospital, also £100 to the Infirmary. At the same meeting at which the above was decided (May 4th, 1897) the rules were again thrown into the melting pot, with Messrs. W. Sullivan, J. Bentley, A. Firth, J. Woodcock, and J. Featherstone, appointed by the members, and Messrs. S. Richardson, J. Wilson, J. Cotter, and W. Cockroft, in charge of them. Coventry Store was opened during the year, and a choral society established under Mr. Hartwell Robertshaw.

Mr. W. Cockroft was elected President early in 1898, and soon after plans were passed for the erection of the bakery on the Dudley Hill estate, a work which had been shelved for about five years, but the year was far advanced before building operations actually commenced. It may be as well to remind the members that in the interval between the closing of the old bakery and the opening of the new, if many years had elapsed, the industry itself had undergone a great change by the introduction of machinery.

The next year (1899) saw the beginning of a long drawn out trouble in which the Directors became involved with all the neighbouring societies. It was in

February that the Directors decided to open a Store in Marshfield, which is really part of the West Bowling Ward, and within the area covered by the local society, who protested against the action and offered to compensate the Society for any outlay they had been at, but this was rejected and the matter went to the Co-operative Union for arbitration.

In the meantime another grand gathering was held in St. George's Hall, when the choir, who had been successful at the Crystal Palace Festival, were publicly presented with the Earl Grey Challenge Shield. Mr. W. Cockroft presided, and was accompanied by Mr. J. Leslie Wanklyn, M.P., Capt. Simpson (representing Capt. Greville, M.P.), the Rev. Rhondda Williams, and Mr. E. O. Greening, who made the presentation on behalf of the Festival Committee. In an address, Mr. Wanklyn expressed his unqualified approval of co-operation, and described its history as a romance of trade and its future as certain of success. There were other speeches of a congratulatory order, and the choir rendered the test pieces with which the shield had been won.

The Directors' attitude towards the West Bowling Society was raised at the following half-yearly meeting by Mr. Peter Burgon and Mr. S. Rawnsley, while Messrs. Sullivan and J. Bentley criticised such action towards a neighbouring society, but all to no purpose. During the discussion Mr. Richardson said the West Bowling Directors had intimated at a conference held by the Co-operative Union that they would never cross Manchester Road, but Mr. Richardson was taken to task next day, in the *Bradford Observer*, by the President of the West Bowling Society,



who stated the Society had never been invited to any such conference and consequently could not have made the statement referred to. In the end the report was adopted, but only by a small majority, and as for the position the Directors had taken up, as already mentioned, it led to conflicts all round. This went on all through Mr. Cockroft's presidency and well into that of Mr. John Wilson. There are innumerable references to it in the records. The Airedale District Association took the matter in hand in an attempt to fix boundaries, and a number of meetings were held on the premises of each of the societies with whom the Bradford Society came in contact, which was practically on every side, as they were completely hemmed in. For a time things looked healthy for a solution, but in the end were given up as useless. The matter was taken before the Liverpool Congress, who appointed a special committee consisting of Mr. Frank Hardern (Oldham), the whole of the Boundaries Committee of the Co-operative Union, and Messrs. James Johnston (Manchester), representing Lancashire, and John Baldwin (West Bowling, Bradford), representing Yorkshire, to consider the whole question of overlapping and to find a remedy.

While these matters were being attended to the formal opening of the bakery took place in July, 1900. Mr. T. Burnsnall, of Derby, had been appointed manager, and had installed a most efficient plant. Of course the occasion was made one of rejoicing. A trade procession started early in the afternoon from the Fair Ground, in Hammerton Street, and, after parading the principal streets, eventually arrived at Cutler Heights Lane. There

were about forty vehicles in the procession, containing exhibits of the various branches of business carried on by the Society. A special one carried a number of bakers in white caps and aprons, who distributed samples of biscuits among the people en route. The whole affair was a complete success and aroused great interest, especially in Wakefield Road, where the inhabitants turned out *en masse* to view the sight. Three brass bands supplied stirring music all the way. The formal ceremony was performed by Mr. John Wilson in the presence of a large gathering of members and friends. The bakery was fitted with the most up-to-date machinery, capable of turning out 1600 loaves per hour.

The only other events to be noted in this chapter are the election of an Education Committee, which should be distinct and separate from the Board, which was the outcome of persistent advocacy on the part of Mr. Sam Sheard, and the appointment of an assistant to Mr. Henry (grocery manager), as the trade had now reached over £400,000 per year. Mr. Charles Blagbrough, manager of the Otley Road Branch, received the appointment.



1901—1910

	Another Amalgamation		
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CHAPTER XXIII.

Failure of Boundary Lines leads to Amalgamation—
A great Election—The Crisis—The Appointment of an
Investigation Committee—Their Report—Opening of
Laundry and of a Milk Depot—Formation of a Jubilee
Committee.

Seeing that the attempt to fix boundary lines between all the societies in Bradford had failed, the Co-operative Union again took the matter in hand, and a conference was called by them in the School Board Offices, Manor Row, early in January, 1901, with a view to the amalgamation of as many of the societies as possible. Representatives from ten societies attended, and were addressed by members of the Central Board of the Co-operative Union to the effect that the only real solution of the evils which accrued from overlapping in Bradford was to be found in the formation of a single society for the whole area. This was endorsed by several of the delegates, who promised to report the same to their respective Boards; in fact, no opposition was raised to the proposal. A further meeting was held later to report progress, but only the West Bowling representatives turned up besides those of the Bradford Provident.

Undaunted by the absence of all the other societies the two decided to go on with the business. Various other meetings were held afterwards, until finally an agreement was arrived at. Matters having arrived at that stage when the members must decide, special meetings of both societies were held on July 16th, 1901, in the Central Hall, Manchester Road, for the Provident's members, and in the Co-operative Hall, Bowling Old Lane, for the West Bowling members. The scheme and conditions of amalgamation were read at both, as follows:—"That the two societies should be amalgamated under the title of the 'City of Bradford Co-operative Society.' The rules should be those of the old society with several alterations, such as the adoption of joint membership; share capital to be increased to £200 per member, on which the rate of interest should vary according to a scale of purchases given; there should be twenty-one Directors, viz., three for each of the seven districts, who should be elected for a term of three years each; there should also be an Education Committee of fourteen, being two for each district, their term of office being for two years each; the rule restricting the Directors' term of service to be deleted, and that the assets and liabilities of both societies should be taken according to the respective balance sheets." Mr. John Morrell presided over the Provident's members, and the above resolutions were proposed separately by Mr. S. Richardson, seconded by Mr. B. Tate. At first there was some opposition, but this gradually gave way towards the end, and finally the resolutions, when put as a whole, were carried with only one dissident.

The West Bowling members were presided over by



Mr. John Baldwin. Similar resolutions were proposed and discussed. The main contention here was that the present departments should be maintained, and that the employees should be guaranteed their situations. In reply it was stated that both these matters had been agreed to as part of the conditions. In the end the resolutions were agreed to unanimously.

It took some months before all the details of the scheme were completed and the assent of the Registrar given to the new rules, but just before the close of the year the two Boards sat together at the Central premises as one Board, and this continued until the general election in May, 1902, when the whole of them would retire and a new Board elected.

It was during this period that the proposal to build the laundry was agreed to, and also that the opening of the café in the basement of the Central took place. Mr. Morrell performed the necessary duty and received a presentation key as a memento of the occasion.

At length the day of the great election came round. Many things conspired to make it memorable. At the previous election several of the old Directors, who had been replaced by new men, determined to get back again; besides these there were all the West Bowling Directors who desired places on the new Board. There were forty-nine candidates for the twenty-one positions. It was indeed an exciting time. The candidates' meetings, which previously had been dubbed a farce, because no interest was taken in them, were on this occasion very crowded, especially the last one, which was held on the night before the election. On the whole, however, they were good-

natured meetings, as far as might be expected when it is remembered there were two strong parties in the field. The candidates themselves faced the music like heroes, although the list of questions they had to answer were poor when it is considered these were supposed to test their qualifications to be able to manage a business doing half-a-million pounds per year.

No less than five thousand members presented themselves at the thirty-nine polling booths. The following shows the result, which was not declared until just on Sunday morning, at which time there was as large a crowd in the street as if it had been a parliamentary election. The first three names in each district were declared elected, and formed the new Board.

District No. 1.—B. Tate, 2234 ; E. Hargreaves, 2009 ; J. Hey, 1976 ; H. Mellor, 1795 ; W. Watkins, 1759.

District No. 2.—J. Morrell, 2014 ; J. Mallison, 1974 ; J. Walker, 1741 ; J. Craven, 1628 ; A. H. Scurrah, 1619 ; R. D. Briggs, 1563 ; E. Higgins, 260 ; J. Allatt, 163.

District No. 3.—S. Richardson, 2189 ; J. Senior, 2184 ; H. Hodgson, 2056 ; J. H. Hopkinson, 1726 ; A. G. Northwood, 1592.

District No. 4.—John Baldwin, 1850 ; F. Denman, 1685 ; A. Norris, 1634 ; A. J. Harris, 1627 ; H. Hirst, 1608 ; A. Jackson, 1468 ; J. Cotter, 291 ; W. Hall, 288 ; C. Bastow, 267 ; A. Binns, 167 ; H. Baker, 105 ; P. Burgon, 104 ; J. Rushworth, 88.

District No. 5.—J. Guy, 1896 ; W. Mynard, 1855 ; J. Moulson, 1851 ; W. W. Dennison, 1737 ; L. Hodgson, 1697 ; E. Tolson, 1688.



District No. 6.—H. Sewell, 1886 ; G. Mellson, 1874 ; J. H. Smith, 1846 ; M. Mountain, 1749 ; E. Smith, 1726 ; W. H. G. Phillips, 1613.

District No. 7.—J. Wilson, 1896 ; A. Firth, 1830 ; A. Watson, 1822 ; G. Holmes, 1707 ; E. Oakes, 1674 ; J. Buxton, 1647.

The half-yearly meeting was held on the following Tuesday in the Central Hall, with Mr. Ben Tate in the chair, in the absence of Mr. Morrell through sickness. It was a rather long meeting, as there was a spirit of inquiry abroad and many questions were asked. An objection was raised by Mr. J. Moulson to the results of the election owing to the amount of special canvassing which had taken place, but Mr. Bennett said that, having received notice of the objection, he had consulted the Society's legal adviser and also the Co-operative Union and both agreed that there was nothing wrong in it. There the matter was allowed to rest for the time being, but it was not for long, as during the succeeding months many rumours were afloat that dissatisfaction was growing and that trouble was brewing for someone. By the time the annual meeting came round, which was held in the Central Hall, on November 4th, 1902, matters came to a head, quickened, no doubt, by the fact that the dividend had dropped from the usual 3s. to 2s. 8d. in the pound.

It was a never-to-be-forgotten meeting. So great was the crush that several of the Directors never got inside the hall. The doors had to be closed and many hundreds had to be turned away. As soon as Mr. Morrell, who presided, called for the minutes he was met with a motion to adjourn the meeting to another hall on another evening.

This was defeated on a vote being taken after Mr. Morrell had explained that an attempt to secure St. George's Hall had already failed. The business then proceeded, being interrupted now and again by the dissatisfied members, who refused to accept Mr. Morrell's explanation as to an increased expenditure amounting to £4578, and a decreased turnover of £6000, as sufficient reason for the reduced profits. At length the balance sheet was passed, and as the hour was late it was decided to adjourn the remaining business to a future meeting in St. George's Hall.

It has been said that every society has had a crisis at some time or other in its existence, and if that is so, this was the most critical period in the history of the City of Bradford Society. During the interval between the two meetings the dissatisfied members had been busy, and evidence of that was made plain on the evening of November 17th, when St. George's Hall, notwithstanding its size, was unable to accommodate the enormous crowd that desired to take part in the proceedings.

Before commencing, the Chairman (Mr. Morrell) requested that the placards advertising private makers' goods (which had been brought in by members, and hung over the front of the gallery) should be removed. It had been intended that the business should be resumed where it left off at the previous meeting, but that did not fall in with the plan which had been arranged during the interval already referred to. Mr. E. Tolson, as leader of the dissentient party, proposed that a special committee, consisting of fourteen members, be appointed to investigate the management of the Society. Mr. J. Cotter proposed that the inquiry be conducted by a chartered accountant from



Manchester. After several speeches on either side the first motion was carried, and then Mr. Tolson proposed that no person employed by the Society or members of the Board should be eligible to be on the Committee. This also was agreed to. Twenty-two names were submitted for the position and eventually the following were appointed:— R. Raney, W. Pitchers, A. J. Harris, G. Holmes, E. Smith, J. Craven, J. Weller, S. Rawnsley, M. Mountain, J. Jennings, E. Tolson, W. Hall, E. Higgins, and F. A. Import.

The business as left from the previous meeting was then taken up. The retiring auditors were re-elected; a grant of £6000 was passed to enable the Building Committee to complete contracts on hand, such as the new laundry, new store and houses at Shearbridge, completion of the stables, and additions to the bakery. The whole of the usual subscriptions were passed, but when the grant to the Education Committee came up and Mr. A. Jagger was proposing that £100 be devoted to that object cries of "agreed" were heard on every side. The Chairman put the motion and a fair vote followed, but as soon as he said to the "contrary," a voice cried "Up, up," and immediately such a forest of hands went up that he had to declare the grant lost. Thus ended one of the most remarkable co-operative meetings ever held in Bradford.

The Investigation Committee soon got to work. They divided themselves into several sub-committees to deal with separate departments of inquiry, but it was such a huge task that it was several months before they were ready to report.

In the meantime several special meetings of the members had been held, called by requisition from the

members, which had for their object the revision of a number of the rules which had been adopted at the time of the amalgamation. No doubt the objects of the dissatisfied members were legitimate enough, but the effect of the constant bickering between the two parties—for it must be admitted that at this time there were two parties—had a very damaging influence on the trade and standing of the Society. Capital was withdrawn, members left, and sales went down; in fact, at one period matters assumed a very critical aspect.

When this special report was given, St. George's Hall was again crowded. Mr. J. Morrell presided, having on the one side of him the Directors, and on the other the Investigation Committee. Mr. Import and Mr. Pitchers took turns at reading the report, which occupied two hours.

The whole affair is so recent, and the actors still with us, that it may serve our purpose best to say as little about it as possible. After reviewing the Society's business in various departments, giving a description of the properties owned by the Society, the report went on to detail the results of the investigation. In connection with the grocery department it was found that the bulk of the trade was done outside, with exception of the flour which came exclusively from Halifax and Sowerby Bridge. The main point, however, was where the Committee stated that they found no case of secret commissions as had been hinted. With regard to the drapery department, the principal objection was that preference was given to one firm in the purchase of dress goods. In the tailoring and some of the other departments the Committee considered



the stock too large for the amount of business done. As for the bakery, in their opinion 50 per cent. more business might be done without any increase in the staff. In their examination of the building department what struck them most was the great difference between the amount of the accepted tenders and the actual cost of the finished work. The extras in one case almost equalled the amount of the original tender. Horsekeeping at Usher Street seemed to them to have been an expensive business. Penny banks, which had been recently established in the Society, were condemned, as was the building of a laundry that could never pay. On the one hand it was suggested that the Directors should refrain from electrical extensions, and on the other the Directors were advised to consider the making of electricity themselves whenever possible. It was also recommended that all general meetings of the Society be better advertised in future ; that the President of the Society should be elected by the members, and that more stock-takers should be appointed ; that a Men's Guild should be formed, and a general manager, to have entire charge of the affairs of the Society, should be appointed.

After a few questions had been answered, it was decided to accept the report and hand it to the Directors to formulate a reply. Four weeks later the members reassembled to receive the reply of the Directors. In the meantime the committee's report and the Director's reply thereto had been printed and in the members' hands for several days. Together they made a rather large pamphlet of nearly seventy pages. In a preliminary statement the Directors maintained that if due consideration had been observed about exact data and prices at

that particular time, much time and trouble might have been saved. It was no use in bringing charges against the grocery department unless quality as well as prices were compared. Then with regard to the charge of preferential treatment in dress goods, this was admitted to the extent of one-half, and then it was to the advantage of the Society to do so as better terms were received. At the same time it was shown that the purchases of the Society for that half-year from the Airedale Manufacturing Society were higher than any other society in the movement. With reference to the large amount of stock, the committee had not taken the branches into account. In this way the directors took up each item of the report and dealt with it.

At the beginning of the meeting it was decided to take the Directors' reply as read, and immediately proceed with the discussion. This lasted for several hours, but nothing fresh was elicited. At length Mr. Joseph Bentley proposed that the report and the Directors' reply thereto be received, and both parties be thanked for their services, which was carried and terminated the meeting. It had certainly been thought that some glaring error, if nothing worse, would be found to account for the drop in the dividend which had given rise to all the trouble, but when nothing came out during the searching inquiry matters settled down again, but it took years to recover the lost ground.

When the Special Committee who had been revising the rules brought their amendments up on September 1st, 1903, there would scarcely be three hundred members present. The most important change proposed was a



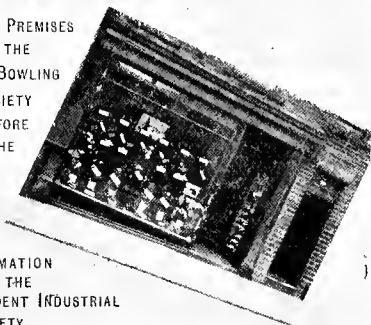
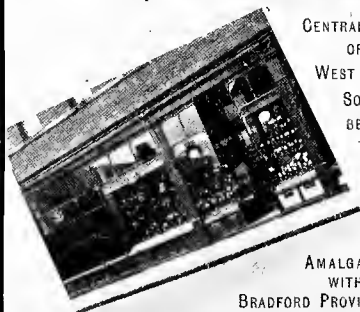
return to special electoral districts, but this was rejected by 119 votes to 90, and at once it could be seen that the feeling of the members had returned to the condition prior to the upheaval. Indeed, nearly every amendment was negatived.

Before the year 1903 closed the new laundry was officially opened by Mr. Morrell, who received a memorial key as a memento of the occasion, and Mr. F. Denman, as chairman of the laundry committee, received a smoker's cabinet. In spite of its condemnation by the Investigation Committee, it has turned out one of the best departments ever started by the Society. It holds the proud position of being the first co-operative laundry in England, while financially it has been a great success. And now that matters had assumed a normal course once more the Society began to progress more rapidly. It was next decided to engage in the supply of pure milk to the members, and to further the idea a dairy was erected on some vacant land on the Usher Street estate. Here all the latest machinery for Pasteurising milk was laid down, and on February 5th, 1910, Mr. Henry Hodgson, one of the oldest Directors, was honoured with the duty of declaring the same open. Previously, a number of the medical faculty of Bradford had expressed their satisfaction with the place, and the task the Society had set themselves. A tea and concert in honour of the event was held in one of the large rooms of the laundry close by, and the new venture was sent on its beneficent mission of supplying one of the most necessary items of human diet in a pure and healthy state.

At the beginning of this year the Directors invited the



CENTRAL PREMISES
OF THE
WEST BOWLING
SOCIETY
BEFORE
THE



AMALGAMATION
WITH THE
BRADFORD PROVIDENT INDUSTRIAL
SOCIETY



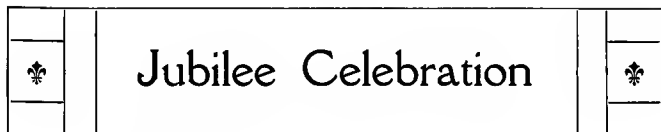


whole of the Education Committee to join them in forming a Jubilee Celebration Committee, and the result of their work is given in the concluding chapter.

While these arrangements were going on other matters engaged their attention as well. Several new stores had been opened, but these are of such recent date that they do not require mention here, with the exception, perhaps, of the removal of the drapery department from the Central premises to the corner of Forster Square and Market Street. In this step the Directors have shown the members, and the public generally, the ability of co-operation to cater for all classes, and at the same time have demonstrated their power in an attractive window display.



1910



CHAPTER XXIV.

For the beginning of its Jubilee Celebrations the Society could not have had a better day. Of course, there were those who said it was too warm, but that is only the usual, for some people must grumble, and it shows that everything else went off all right when they had nothing else to fall back upon than old King Sol. The Central premises looked quite gay with many flags from the windows and a long string of small ones stretched from tower to tower.

THE PROCESSION.

At length all was ready, and the Marshal, Mr. Malton, on his charger, gave the signal to start. Mounted police led the way, followed by the City Brass Band, after which came the Society's banner on a waggon. A landau, containing Mr. F. Denman, Mr. J. Bennett, Mr. G. H. Hopkinson (Treasurer), and Mr. J. P. Henry (Manager), headed the conveyances carrying the Directors, Educational Committee, and the Executive of the Women's Guild. The various branches of trade followed. The grocers had four



waggon in which their wares were displayed ; the Halifax and Sowerby Bridge Flour Societies were also represented with laden waggon ; the Society's Bakery Department had a couple of bread vans, while the Greengrocery Department made a brave show with an enticing display of fruit and vegetables. Why Denmark should have been selected for a special show was not very clear, but there she was with ten milkmaids very pretty in their white, heliotrope, and pink costumes. There was no mistaking the Butchering Department, however, for it was represented by both living and dead samples. The living came first, of course ; there were beasts, sheep, and pigs, pleasant enough to look upon, but the next van (filled with pork products ready for sale) attracted in a different way, as it appealed not only to the eye but caused a craving with a desire in another direction. There was also the Daisy Hill Brass Band to enliven the march through the crowded streets, which was followed by the furniture display, consisting of two waggon with sideboards, &c. On one was a bed, with occupants whose nationality might be doubtful, but whose colour could not be mistaken, There were also other lorries. One contained a group of little folks dressed in a variety of costumes representing the International Co-operative Alliance. There stood a sturdy little fellow as John Bull, with Sandy, Pat, and Taffy as companions ; there were also Uncle Sam, Germany, France, Switzerland, and several other nations, all under the care of a representative of that international or world-wide name, Smith. In turn came the other departments—Drapery, Tailoring, and Boots—while the youngest was represented by two milk floats. It was, indeed, a brave show.

OPENING OF THE EXHIBITION.

The formal opening of the Exhibition, which was held in the Coliseum Skating Rink, did not take place until the evening of the same day, as the principal personage, Mr. John Shillito, J.P., F.R.G.S. (Chairman of the Co-operative Wholesale Society), was engaged during the afternoon presiding over the Lancashire Divisional Meeting at Manchester. The Exhibition had been really open to visitors all the afternoon, and at the time of the ceremony was simply crowded. Mr. F. Denman presided, and when order was obtained—no slight task with such a crowd—commenced the proceedings by expressing the pleasure it afforded him to be the mouthpiece of the Society on that occasion. Anyone, he said, looking back fifty years was bound to be gratified with the success achieved by the Society. It commenced with a turnover of £200 per week, and had grown in the meantime till to-day it was doing £10,000 per week.

Mr. Shillito, after expressing his pleasure at being able to take part in the proceedings, even after a busy day in Manchester, congratulated the Bradford Society on its position to-day, after fifty years' growth. It had a small beginning, but it was a grand institution now. Although started at a time when it was difficult to get money enough to establish institutions of the kind, and, although its progress had been slow and gradual, during its existence it had turned over £10,000,000 of capital, had repaid to the members over £1,500,000 in profits, and still had £400,000 in the institution to-day. He would like to impress upon the workers that all this had been accom-



plished by working together. He would urge upon all to try and understand what associated interests could do for them. There was no risk at all, their capital was really four times greater than the amount of shares in the members' names. The institution which he had the honour to represent had brought this Exhibition to Bradford, so that they might realise what had been done in the movement. The members of the Bradford Society had £40,000 in that institution, and £20,000 could be withdrawn any minute. Twenty thousand families were connected with the Society, which must have been a great benefit to them. Socialists had declaimed against millionaires, but each member of the Bradford Society, through Co-operation, was a millionaire. He then declared the Exhibition opened.

Mr. J. Morrell proposed a vote of thanks, which was seconded by Mr. R. Hiles, after which Mr. Denman received a similar vote for his services in the chair, proposed by Mr. J. Bennett, seconded by Mr. S. Richardson.

THE EXHIBITION.

Of the Exhibition itself pages might be written, but space forbids. First of all, the hall itself was a splendid one for the purpose, and was only a penny tram ride from the centre of the city to the very door. Inside the place, although commodious and perhaps the largest hall in the city, was none too large for the magnificent display of Co-operatively-made goods. From the main entrance one came right on to the balcony, from which a fine view of

the whole area, with its numerous stalls and showcases, was obtained, besides which a good idea of the general scheme of decoration was had. Below the balcony was the bandstand, or platform, just as it was required for one purpose or the other. On the floor there were about thirty beautiful showcases from the various Productive Works, in which the goods were seen to advantage. Here were Crumpsall biscuits and everything in that line right to a most beautiful bride's cake, round which there could always be seen an admiring crowd of young ladies with longing eyes. Then the toffee-boiling stall, or the soap milling, or the sewing machines always had large crowds surrounding them. Here a group would be gleefully sampling "Co-op." porridge, made from "Co-op." meal supplied by the C.W.S., who are now the largest millers in the country. Over there a number of experts were cross-examining an attendant at a boot stall with reference to the quality of a special kind of leather, and an interested audience drank the conversation in.

Irlam had a lighthouse to attract attention to its candles and soaps. Luton's cocoa pyramid on one side, with a tea pyramid on the other, flanked a great showcase from Pelaw containing all sorts of drugs and scents and useful household articles. Then Keighley wringing machines, which are no novelty in this district, made a show that drew the attention of those ladies who passed by the bride's cake with a toss of the head as having no interest for them. From there they wandered a little lower down the hall and paused at the Society's laundry show, where they became fixtures for a time. Turning back again the workers from Broughton were very busy



with their sewing machines, and here an interested crowd watched the speed with which all sorts of fancy sewing was done. It is scarcely fair to select one case as being more attractive than another where so many were perfect according to the goods that each contained, yet hours could be spent according to one's preference, but without question the model of the old Rochdale Store in Toad Lane appealed to all. To the young it was like something in a museum, historical and curious, but to some of the old folks it was a reminder of "good old times," and it was worth something to stand beside it for a time to listen to the remarks and share the hearty laughter of some, whilst to others sad memories were recalled.

SECOND DAY'S OPENING.

Crowds continued to pour into the Exhibition each day, and when the second formal opening took place, which was on Wednesday evening, June 15th, the place was simply packed, large as it is. Mr. Denman again presided, and the speaker was Mr. W. Lander (of Bolton, Chairman of the Productive Committee).

Mr. Lander, in the course of his remarks, said that during the past we have been making millionaires, and he for one was tired of this ; in fact, he hoped we should not make another millionaire. He was a Socialist, and he believed in the money of the world going to the masses, so that there would be less poverty, less vice, and less degradation. He contended that Co-operation was the highest form of Socialism ; it aimed not at making its main men rich, but in making the masses feel that the

movement was theirs, and that they each had a share in the millions the Co-operative Wholesale and other kindred Societies were handling year by year. Co-operation approached also a very high standard of Christianity, for it endeavoured to promote the spirit of that ancient teaching, they should do unto others as they would others should do to them. Co-operation was divided into two divisions — Distributive and Productive. First: Distributive; its aim was to spread all over the world its ideas, so that all the civilised world might benefit, and this ideal could never be realised by any syndicate or money combine. But besides being distributive it was also a productive combination. It had a large number of works in which the goods it sold were made and produced, and he was in the proud position that night of being able to state that the Co-operative Jam and Biscuit Works were the only eight hours a day works of their kind in Europe, that the men in these factories only worked forty-eight hours per week, and the women and girls forty-four hours, and that their rate of wages was higher than any similar works in the country.

A vote of thanks was proposed to Mr. Lander by Mr. Joseph Shepherd (Great Horton), which was seconded by Dr. Hodgson, M.A., B.Sc., PH.D.

Each day and evening music had been supplied, the following bands taking turns:—The Society's own Orchestra, the West Riding Artillery, the City Tramways, and the City Police Bands. On Monday there was a boot-cleaning competition for boys, on Wednesday a spoon-cleaning contest for girls, and on Friday the men displayed their powers in washing clothes.

CLOSE OF THE EXHIBITION.

The universal opinion with regard to the Exhibition, which was brought to a close on Saturday evening, June 18th, was that it had been a huge success. It is estimated that about 100,000 persons visited it during the eight days it had been running. Mr. John Baldwin occupied the chair and introduced Mr. Thorpe, of Dewsbury. In doing so he thought the members had every reason to congratulate themselves on the success of the celebrations so far. The only regret he felt was that none of the originals were with them. It would have been a pleasure to have had the opinions of William Jennings, Tom Bower, or John Howarth on the display before them. Truly they had laid the foundations deep and well so as to produce such great results within the life-time of an ordinary individual. With that night they saw the close of the first portion of the celebrations. During the afternoon a grand gala for the children had taken place. It was the first of a series and close on 4000 children had been present. In Mr. Thorpe they had a near neighbour as well as a Director of the Wholesale Society, and he was sure they would give him a good hearing.

Mr. Thorpe explained that the object of the Exhibition was to bring the Co-operative productions before the notice of the people of Bradford, so that the conditions under which they had been produced might be extended to others. It was impossible to do any good work without power, and as the C.W.S. was a strong body and possessed this power, it enabled them to supply such goods from factories and workshops working from forty-eight to forty-

four hours per week. In his opinion there was no necessity for a longer working day than six or seven hours. The C.W.S. were employing between 18,000 and 19,000 persons, and had proved the possibility of giving the very best conditions to the workers, just as the city authorities of Bradford, by means of careful examination of the children attending schools, had been able to demonstrate that those who came from the slums were not so strong as those who came from the better-class homes. The salvation of the working classes, their economic redemption and emancipation must come from themselves.

Mr. Edward Smith proposed a vote of thanks to Mr. Thorpe for his speech, which Mr. Mark Mountain seconded.

Mr. F. Denman, in supporting the resolution, said that Mr. Thorpe had given them very good reasons why they should be Co-operators. So far as the Society was concerned, they had room for more members. He hoped and anticipated that the Exhibition would increase their membership, and asked those outside to come inside and endeavour to obtain the conditions referred to by Mr. Thorpe.

Mr. Thorpe, in responding, proposed a vote of thanks to the Chairman, which was heartily accorded.

MEMBERS' TEAS.

Another stage of the Jubilee Celebrations of the City of Bradford Society was reached on Saturday, September 3rd. As there is no hall in Bradford large enough to accommodate the 20,000 members, it was arranged to split up the functions and spread them over a number of



dates. With this object in view teas were given at four centres during the afternoon, and two concerts and meetings were held in the evening. Teas were provided in the Central Hall, at Annesley School, at Brownroyd School, and at Princeville Wesleyan School. At each place there were plenty of assistants, and, unlike the first tea fifty years ago, held in the Oddfellows' Hall, plenty of good things for all, for on that occasion there were so many sittings down that sufficient bread could not be procured and the last tables had to be content with biscuits. Of course, it should be remembered that fifty years ago bakers' shops in Bradford were few and far between, and when a large tea was arranged the bread had to be specially baked by those organising the affair. On this last occasion the Committee had the resources of an up-to-date Bakery to draw upon, which was fully adequate to the occasion.

CENTRAL HALL.

At the Central Hall the chair was occupied by Mr. A. Norris (one of the Directors), who, in opening the proceedings, expressed the hope that these Jubilee meetings would have the result of binding the members closer together in Co-operative union. Without going into the history of the Society, he said, fifty years of successful trading, in spite of adversities and trials, had resulted in their reaching a stage of industrial power which demanded recognition.

Mr. F. Denman delivered the following address :—

“ Reviewing our past we have good reason for congratulation on the splendid record that we have made. We can



look at the figures for a moment, and in doing so one is apt to wonder how the workers can hold aloof from this most humanitarian organisation :—1861, capital £292, trade £746, profit £33 ; 1910, capital £427,000, trade £520,000, profit £76,000 ; trade done from 1860, £10,074,923 ; profit from 1860, £1,556,152, this profit averaging more than £30,000 per annum for the term of our existence.

There is, to my mind, no organisation of workers equipped like the Co-operative movement—your movement—to deal with the present day tendency for the foodstuffs and other materials—the needs of the people—being cornered by individuals or trusts.

“ We have the C.W.S. and all other productive societies working in our interests. We had need, then, to see that we are loyal to them, extend their powers as much as possible ; let our aim be that not only shall they bestow their efforts on distribution, but spread the production of the articles we need to a much greater extent than they are at present.”

BROWNROYD, GIRLINGTON.

The meeting at Brownroyd was presided over by Mr. Joseph Guy, who said the history of the Society showed that there had been fifty years of hard work on behalf of progress, fifty years' noble effort on behalf of shop assistants, and fifty years' labour for pure food and honest trading. The Directors were anxious that the members, along with themselves, should really enjoy their Jubilee to their hearts' content. Mr. W. Mynard was the principal speaker at this meeting, and he said he remembered many of the devices which had been produced to check the advance



of the Society, such as dividend stores and cash stores, &c., with fancy names, but he complimented the members that in spite of such temptations, which, no doubt, taxed their loyalty, they remained true to their own stores.

The musical portion of both concerts was left to the Society's Prize Choir and Orchestral Band, under the direction of Mr. Hartwell Robertshaw.

MANNINGHAM.

The Jubilee Celebrations were continued on Saturday, September 10th. Teas were provided in the Greenfield Congregational School, St. Luke's School, and in the Jubilee Hall to a large number of the members, after which concerts were given in the Jubilee Hall and in Greenfield School. At the former Mr. T. W. Durrans presided, the address being given by Mr. S. Richardson. Taking for his text the word "jubilee," Mr. Richardson having explained its significance to the ancient Hebrews and what they had to do on the hearing of the blowing of the trumpet, he immediately set out to blow the Co-operative trumpet, and in particular that of the City of Bradford Society. Looking backwards for fifty years and describing the condition then, he followed on by comparing the condition now. The single employee had given place to a respectable regiment 790 strong, whose conditions in hours and wages would compare with any in the city.

At the Greenfield School the chair was occupied by Mr. A. Firth. Here the address was given by Mr. Edward Smith, who, after speaking of the early struggles of the Society and alluding to the distance that members used to walk to fetch their goods, and comparing this with the



present system of delivery by carrier, described the objects and ideals of the movement as thoroughly democratic. In no other organisation could they find a better illustration of the spirit of democracy than in Co-operation. Its government was entirely in their own hands, and every member had equal power, each having a voice and a vote in its management, with no plural voting. It was in great contrast to that spirit of individual practice by the various multiple shops, companies, and syndicates.

OTLEY ROAD.

The Jubilee teas provided for the members continued to grow in popularity, and on Saturday, September 17th, the attendance at the Drill Hall, Otley Road, was such as to cause no little consternation among the Committee who had the matter in hand. So great was the rush that it was feared the good things would not hold out till all were supplied. However, by use of the telephone and the energy of the Committee all were eventually satisfied and made happy, although it necessitated no fewer than three sittings down. In the evening the chair was occupied by Mr. B. Tate, who opened with a brief account of the Society's progress, concluding with a sketch of the Jubilee celebrations up to date. The concert was supplied by the Society's Choir and Band.

The speaker on this occasion was Mr. A. Firth (Vice-Chairman of the Educational Committee), who delivered a very earnest address, in which he exhorted the members to think more seriously about the true ideals of the movement, to try and understand what Co-operation had really done for hundreds of the working classes in our city, and what

it was still capable of doing further if all would act up to its principles.

LEEDS ROAD.

At the Jubilee meetings of the Society on Saturday, September 24th, held in the Leeds Road Baptist School, Mr. J. Morrell drew a picture of the period immediately preceding the birth of Co-operation, and asked his audience to imagine if they could the difference which had been brought about since then through Co-operation.

The other meeting in this same district was held in the Laisterdyke Independent School on the same evening, with Mr. A. H. Scurrah in the chair. Here the Band supplied an excellent programme of music, and Mrs. Parker, Miss Oxley, Mr. J. E. Oldfield, and Mr. J. Parker were the solo singers from the Choir. Master J. Widdison also contributed violin solos. The address was given by Mr. E. Ellis, who dealt with the origin of the Society, and showed how during the fifty years it had progressed and reached its present dimensions.

EAST BOWLING.

There are so many members of the Society in the East Bowling District that it was found necessary to have two separate functions on Saturday, October 1st, in continuation of the Jubilee Celebrations. One was held in the Lorne Street Council School, Wakefield Road, while the other was held in the Bowling Congregational School, Essex Street. In the afternoon there were the usual teas, which were well patronised, while in the evening at each place a meeting and concert were held. At the first-named

place Mr. H. Hodgson occupied the chair, and in opening the proceedings referred to the pioneers of the Society, who, he said, had laid the foundations broad and deep, and by doing so had earned the admiration of all true Co-operators. The musical programme was carried through by the Premier Quartette Party, consisting of Miss Lillie Farrar (soprano), Miss M. Audrey Rhodes (contralto), Mr. J. Briggs (tenor), and Mr. Herbert Browne (baritone), with Mr. and Mrs. Joe Hodgson as society entertainers, the accompanist being Mr. Maurice Stell. The speaker here was Mr. S. Richardson, who said in looking back to the "hungry 'forties," when Co-operation was started, it would surprise no one that it did so, for the conditions prevailing naturally led men to think. The very earth was owned by the masters, who also made it a condition of employment that their workers must obtain the necessities of life at truck shops owned by them. He also referred to the changes brought about in Bradford during the fifty years that had elapsed. Referring to the earlier workers in the Society, he complimented Mr. Robert Barker, who was present and was one of the few living original members, as his card of membership, which was No. 58, could prove.

At the other meeting Mr. John Senior was the speaker, and he described the early start of the Society with its eighty members and their £80 of capital, of which £50 was spent in the fixtures of the shop at the corner of Adelaide Street. He next compared the first dividend of 1s. in the £ with the condition to-day, when the membership was nearly 21,000 and the capital £400,000; it now required forty-two up-to-date shops to carry on the business, which amounted to half-a-million a year.



THE LAST OF THE MEMBERS' REJOICINGS.

In continuation of the celebration of the Jubilee of the Society, teas were served on Saturday afternoon, October 8th, at three centres—Muff Field Schoolroom, the Bowling Old Lane Co-operative Hall, and the Wibsey Congregational School. At each place there was a satisfactory attendance. In the evening a concert was given in the Muff Field School, Bowling Old Lane. Mr. M. Mountain presided, and was supported by Mr. F. Denman (President of the Society) and Mr. John Baldwin (who was President of the West Bowling Co-operative Society before the amalgamation with the Bradford Society). Mr. Baldwin spoke of the aims and objects of the movement, and went on to say that it was peculiarly appropriate that a Co-operative Society should celebrate its Jubilee, and quoted Biblical authority that Moses first instituted a jubilee (Leviticus xxv. 10), which was a time for great rejoicing and liberty. According to the law of Moses a jubilee represented three things, viz., freedom from slavery, freedom from debt, and freedom in land. In the last-named respect, land went back at a jubilee to the original owners. The Co-operative movement carried out those principles better than any other movement in the country. It might be said that we had no slaves in these days. We had no slaves in chains, but we had what were known as “white slaves.” Many of them had to slave before they received their weekly wages. Co-operation came to those slaves and said: “In our movement we have abolished slavery; our employees work under better conditions, have shorter hours, and receive the top trade



union wages." To a great extent they were abolishing debt, as instance the fact that the Wholesale Society would allow no longer than one week's credit. As to land, they had not yet solved that problem, but they were on the way to do so.

THE MASS MEETING IN ST. GEORGE'S HALL.

Little did that band of six men and three women who were assembled in the house of William Jennings, at Wood Road, Bowling Old Lane, a little over fifty years ago, imagine that they were making history. They had resolved to form themselves into a Co-operative Society for mutual benefit, but never dreamed that St. George's Hall would be required some day to hold their successors. It is, indeed, a great stretch in imagination from a cottage house to the largest hall in the city, but even that was inadequate to hold all those who desired to take part in the Jubilee Celebration of the Society on Monday evening, October 10th. The magnificent sight, as viewed from the platform, was indeed, as described by Mr. Jacob Moser (Lord Mayor-elect for Bradford), an inspiration. Every seat was occupied. A number of delegates also were present from the neighbouring Societies. The interval between the filling of the hall and the advertised time for commencing the proceedings was spent in the singing of Co-operative hymns. Led by Mr. Mark Mountain, the vast audience joined heartily in "Brothers in Co-operation," to the inspiring tune of "Men of Harlech," followed by the "Hope of Ages" and "Sons of Labour." The organ seat was occupied by Mr. W. Widdop, while the



Band and Choir were under the conductorship of Mr. Hartwell Robertshaw.

As the President (Mr. F. Denman), accompanied by the Lord Mayor (Alderman W. Land), Mr. F. W. Jowett, M.P., the Vicar of Bradford (Rev. H. Gresford Jones, M.A.), Mr. Will Crooks, Councillor Jacob Moser, and various members of the Society's Board of Management, appeared on the platform a great cheer arose from the vast crowd, but when the Venerable the Right Rev. Mgr. Provost Motler was seen crossing leaning on the arm of Mr. S. Richardson the audience testified their respect by a prolonged outburst such as is only given on very rare occurrences. As soon as the Lord Mayor took the chair the whole audience, led by the Choir and accompanied by the Band, sang "Forward, All Ye Workers," in such fine style as must have enabled all to feel satisfied that they were taking part in a great function. The Lord Mayor's remarks were brief but to the point. He said the members of the Society might well feel gratified. For fifty years they had experienced one long succession of successes. It was a most thoroughly democratic institution, for its benefits could be partaken of by all. Great credit was due to those who were at the head of its affairs for its flourishing condition after fifty years.

Mr. Joseph Bennett having read apologies from Sir William Priestley, M.P., who would not be back from Canada until November; also from Sir George Scott Robertson, M.P., who was called away very urgently to the West of England, and from Mr. Percy Illingworth, M.P., who also was away from Bradford, and the audience having been consoled for their absence by some beautiful music from the Choir



and Band, and songs from Madame Baines and Mr. Harry Horner, Mr. Will Crooks was called upon and soon had the house in roars of laughter. He asked them what they remembered of fifty years ago. In Bradford a few people were founding a Co-operative Society. His recollection was of the issue of the new coinage. He saw some displayed in a window, and well remembered his wonder as to when he would come in for some. At that period from 65 to 70 per cent. of the people could neither read nor write. Here he made a slight pause, then added: "But they had some thinkers in those days." The point was at once taken by the audience. After a few humorous stories, he went on to show what Co-operators had been doing for education. In his opinion, had it not been for the steps taken by Co-operators to provide scholarships for the clever boys and girls, education would not have been within measurable distance of what it was to-day. They might have been coaxed into the movement by a promise of dividend. It was a common failing in human nature. There were 20,000 people in Bradford who had combined and were doing a business amounting to half-a-million a year. "Who are they?" he asked, and turned to the Lord Mayor for a reply, but, receiving none, answered his own question by stating that they were the common people, who were said to be never satisfied, and of whom it had been said also they were not to be trusted. Why, in the Co-operative movement, he asserted, they were making better men and women, and it was due to the Women's Co-operative Guild that many reforms had been introduced into the Poor Law system.

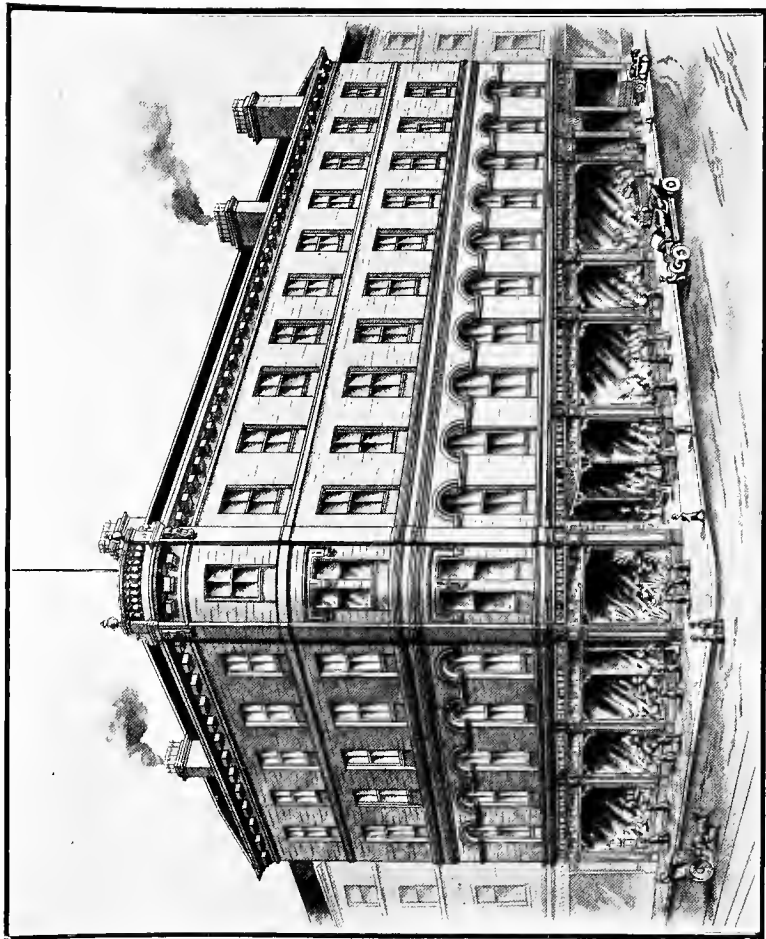
Mr. Jowett, in proposing a vote of thanks to Mr. Crooks



admitted that although he had not heard the whole of the speech, yet knowing him as he did in Parliament and on other platforms he felt sure they would have been told many good stories. Mr. Jowett also made a personal reference to the time when he was a Director of the old Bradford Provident Society. It would be news to some of them, but it was a fact that it was while on the Board of the Society he gained his first experience in administration. He was proud of the fact also that he was one of the Sub-Committee who purchased the present Central premises in Sunbridge Road, and on which the "old croakers" and "Jeremiahs" said their money had been thrown away. No doubt there were Jeremiahs still, but he would remind them that their prophecies had not been fulfilled.

As indicated in the opening paragraph, Mr. Jacob Moser expressed the opinion that the great gathering was an inspiration to him, so that he had great pleasure in seconding the vote of thanks to Mr. Crooks. It was only the second time he had heard him, but he was satisfied that Mr. Crooks felt all he said. He congratulated the President on having such a body of people in the Society, but it was the moral side of the work that enormously impressed him. He had attended many meetings in that hall, but seldom found an audience such as was before him; it represented not only harmony, but was an inspiration.

In supporting the motion, Mr. Denman said it was one of the proudest moments of his life. He trusted the pathetic address of Mr. Crooks would not be forgotten. With regard to the Society, that night was the crowning one of fifty years' work. The Society began in 1860 with a capital of £292; to-day they had £427,000. The



DRAPERY DEPARTMENT (Corner of Forster Square and Market Street.



trade in 1860 amounted to £746 ; it had since grown to £520,000, while the profits had risen from £33 to £76,000 per annum. All would agree that this profit must have made many homes brighter, and therefore he hoped the lesson drawn by Mr. Crooks would be carried home, and that they would make up their minds to be Co-operators not for dividend alone but with the object of bringing happiness in their homes.

In proposing a vote of thanks to the Lord Mayor for presiding the Vicar of Bradford said that as far as he understood the Co-operative movement it stood for an increased sense of responsibility with regard to the spending of money, whether great or small, and, as Ruskin had stated it, the problem lay as much, or more, in the spending of money as in the raising of it. Co-operation also was leading the community to live just under their income rather than above it. The principle involved in Co-operation was a determination that in spending their money they kept in the forefront of their vision nothing less than the common good, and this therefore helped them to what, in his opinion, was the best road to wealth. The main point, however, was the determination that no profit should be made at the expense of the welfare of the worker. It was because these principles were so essentially Christian that he wished the Society God-speed.

The Rev. Mgr. Provost Motler seconded the proposal, and, in spite of his eighty-six years, was able to make himself heard over a large area, although it was impossible for all to hear. He said he could scarcely convey the great pleasure he felt in being able to take part in the proceedings or to express his feelings with regard to the

glorious sight before him. The greatest stillness prevailed as the old man pictured the Bradford of his first acquaintance. It was only like a small village then, he said, but everything was changed now; it was a grand city with a great population, and he hoped that all who had heard the speeches would resolve to act up to them.

After the Lord Mayor had replied to the vote of thanks, Mr. J. Morrell then handed to each of the speakers, including the President and the Lord Mayor, a specially-bound copy of the Co-operative Wholesale Society's "Annual" for 1910. With this and the singing of "God Bless our Native Land" by the audience, led by the Choir and Band, the great function terminated.

THE OLD VETERANS' SHARE IN THE REJOICINGS.

What turned out to be one of the most enjoyable of the whole series of entertainments provided by the Society in celebration of the Jubilee was held on Saturday, October 15th, in the Channing Hall. It was the turn of the old veterans; and it was decided they should have a right royal time all to themselves. The idea was to get together all the old men and women of the Society above seventy years of age, and all those who had been members of the Society for forty-five years. On making inquiry, however, it was found that the total number of those who complied with either condition ran nearly to 500. It was therefore decided that this number should be divided, and one-half entertained on the 15th and the other on the 29th of the month.



Altogether there were some 200 persons present at the first one, the proportion of women to men being about two to one. The oldest gentleman present was Mr. Thomas Charnley, Cordingley Street, who celebrated his ninetieth year that day, and another old gentleman was Mr. Peter Tempest, Croft Street, Wibsey, who is eighty-seven. The oldest lady receiving an invitation was Mrs. Ann Stead, 44 Orchard Street, who is eighty-seven, but she was unable to attend, and her tea was sent to her, and the oldest lady who put in an appearance was Mrs. Calverley, 44 Lapage Street, who is eighty-five. Of those upwards of eighty years of age there were eleven present, and the old folks enjoyed themselves immensely. There was a rich fund of humour in many of the remarks of the veterans, and one old lady created a roar of laughter by remarking: "They know what they're doin'; it's a reet coppin'-on do is this."

In order that all entitled to share in the treat should benefit it was arranged that all unable to walk to Channing Hall should be brought by tramcar or cab, and those who found it impossible to be present had a nice substantial tea sent to them, accompanied by a neat card expressing good wishes for the recipient's future welfare and the appropriate complement:—

"May link by link of friendship's chain
Recall sweet memories once again."

Among those present was Mr. Robert Barker, who attended the early meetings of the Society at its formation, which used to be held at the Roebuck Inn. There were also a few who served on the Directorate in the

early days of the Society, and who could recall many interesting stories of that time.

Every guest was presented with a neat packet of chocolate, and the men also had gifts of tobacco handed round, all of which had been prepared specially by the C.W.S.

After enjoying their tea the old folks assembled again for the entertainment, over which Mr. John Morrell presided. In welcoming the guests he drew a picture of what the society was in their day, and compared it with what it was to-day. The entertainment supplied was of such a nature as was suitable to the audience—dialect recitations by Mrs. Spencer, songs by Miss Connell and Mr. Fisher, while Miss Robinson (violin) and Master Bentley (violoncello) were highly appreciated. The humorous sketches of Mr. G. W. Stocks, too, thoroughly amused the old folks, both male and female, as their faces bore testimony when seen from the platform.

In the course of the evening the Chairman gave an opportunity to any of the guests to make whatever remarks they had a mind to. Mr. James Robinson was the first to do so, and he proposed a vote of thanks to the Directors for their kindness. On looking round he said he could see a number who seemed to be able to live without working, and this he attributed to their being connected with the Society. Mr. W. Carter expressed his pleasure that he had lived to see that day. His connection with the Society had been a great blessing to him, and the longer he lived the more he was convinced that it was the best thing that ever was invented for the working class. After Mr. Clarke had amused the audience by relating how he used, when on

the Committee, to have to take his turn at packing sugar and weighing flour at the old store in Manchester Road, Mr. Cowbourn told of the early struggles they had in the old days. Then Mr. Robert Barker, who is perhaps the oldest member alive, and produced his card to prove it, said he knew of scores who could testify as he could to the blessing the Society had been to him. He had had thirteen children, all of whom had been kept respectable through his connection with the Society. Mr. Stead, who had filled the Presidential chair in days gone by, and had served on the Committee for fifteen years, also expressed his indebtedness to the Society.

Replying to the vote of thanks, Mr. F. Denman said the total ages of those present amounted to 13,145 years, and the average age worked out to 73 2-5 years, the oldest person present being 90 years of age. He also said if they looked at the results of their efforts they would be gratified. No less than £10,000,000 had been spent in the Stores since they were established, and a sum of £1,500,000 had been returned to the members during the fifty years of its existence. This was no small thing to boast about, and no other organisation than Co-operation could have done it.

THE SECOND TREAT TO THE OLD VETERANS.

The last batch of the old veterans were entertained on Saturday, October 29th, in the Central Hall. The programme was very similar to that arranged and carried out a fortnight before in Channing Hall. It is needless to say the old folks enjoyed themselves immensely, and their happy faces beaming with delight were ample recom-



pense to the Committee who had the arrangements in hand. In all 170 sat down to tea, and 50 teas were sent out to those who were too feeble to attend. The united ages of those present amounted to 12,352 years, which gave an average of 72 years and nine months each. The oldest person present was Mrs. Woodhall, with 82 years, while Mr. Peter Burgon (a past Director of the Society) came next with 81 years. There was also present Mrs. Emma Sharp, who, a number of years ago, successfully performed the feat of walking 1000 miles in 1000 hours at Quarry Gap, and who seemed yet as if she could outdo many of her younger sisters in a long-distance sprint.

When all were assembled after tea, Mr. F. Denman addressed them as the founders of the Society. He said they had done their work well, and had laid the foundation both deep and wide, like many of the builders did with the more prominent or public buildings of Bradford, and of which the citizens were justly proud.

On arriving at that portion of the programme when the guests were asked if they had any message for the younger members of the Society, there was a pause for a second or two, as if they wanted a lead, and it was Mrs. Emma Sharp who broke the silence. She said she was no talker or she would make a speech, but she was proud of the Board who had supplied them with such a good tea. Then Mr. Burgon expressed his thanks for the opportunity of meeting old friends, and suggested that everyone should do their best to increase the membership of the Society. He noticed, he said, that the dividend was to be 2s. 10d. again. He could imagine some of the younger ones saying: "Oh, dearie me, it ought to be 3s." For himself he

thought it was very good in these days. (Here Mrs. Sharp cried out that it was a long way better than the shilling they used to get). Mr. Burgon concluded by saying the movement had benefited him as well as many others, and it had been a benefit for the whole country. Mr. Joe Crabtree followed by asserting he was proud to be one of such an honourable audience, for in his opinion Co-operators were the salt of Bradford. Coming to a sudden termination, he said, after a pause: "I can't make a speech, but if you will allow me I'll sing a song." This was immediately accepted, and he hastened to the platform. Inquiries were made for the pianist, and Mr. Robertshaw was hastening forward, but Mr. Crabtree waved him aside; he could accompany himself, and he did. He sang "Where are the Friends of my Youth?" with a voice and a manner that drew forth loud applause, and a challenge from a teacher of music present that none of the present Directors could beat that. There was one at the back of the hall who seemed as if he could, but, whether or not, he never attempted it, so Mr. Crabtree retired on his laurels.

Mr. Henry Hodgson was next to rise; he claimed to be one of the early members. He had worked beside a number of the originators of the Society, and mentioned a whole string of them so fast that he lost his breath. He also mentioned some stirring times in the Society, for it had many ups and downs in its early days, and concluded by reciting a verse of poetry, in which he likened the Society to a ship on the ocean, and urged that patience and reason were necessary for safe steering. After Mr. Hodgson came Mr. James Cotter (another past Director), to whom

the night's proceedings had been like a panorama, old faces brought up forgotten incidents of long ago. He sought to impress the present Directors with the necessity of vigilance, and warned them against relaxing any effort, for unlimited competition was keener than ever. With Mr. James Oldfield (a late member of the Educational Committee and a former Director) the speeches of the guests closed. Mr. Oldfield said that he was realising that night he was getting an old man. The Psalmist had said the allotted span of life was three score years and ten, but on looking round he imagined there were quite a number who were making overtime. There was also ample evidence they must have had good stuff to feed upon.

Mr. S. Richardson was called upon by the President to reply to the vote of thanks to the Directors. In doing so, Mr. Richardson said the Society was never on a better footing than it was at present. Mr. Alfred Firth (Educational Committee) also addressed the gathering, and said he was overjoyed at the response to the invitations sent out. If it was possible to get 450 old members together such as they had had at these two meetings, what was to hinder them from having an annual one? The applause with which this suggestion was received showed that the guests were in hearty sympathy with the proposal. The proceedings were brought to a close with "Auld Lang Syne."

And now what more need be said? Surely the action of that little band of men and women, who met in Jennings' cottage on 22nd March, 1860, has been fully justified. The small seed then planted is now a mighty tree under



whose sheltering branches no less than 800 persons—260 females and 540 males—gain a living which enables them to enjoy life under far better conditions than those who first proposed to form the Society; while over 20,000 persons annually receive sums of money sufficient, in many cases, to find clothes and boots for the children. Since the commencement of the Society the workers of Bradford have had returned to them the enormous sum of £1,500,000. It is true they have paid £10,000,000 over the counters, but in return they have received goods, second to none in the city, equal to that sum. The little shop at the corner of Adelaide street has grown to forty-two branches, each of which is larger than the original one; besides these there are a central drapery department and five drapery branches, one of the finest boot shops in the city and nine branches, and a splendid tailoring department in the centre of the city, with a large branch at West Bowling. There are also shops for furnishing and jewellery, and a very popular café in Sunbridge Road. There is also an abattoir with nearly ninety acres of grazing land, and near to it a large splendid bakery. On the Usher Street estate there are stables for sixty-five horses, and accommodation for twelve vans, two motor vans, thirteen coal carts, fifteen lorries, thirteen milk floats, four traps, and a brougham, besides which the Society owns thirty-two coal wagons and 216 dwelling-houses. Therefore, if all this progress could be made in fifty years, with such a poor beginning, what should the centenary bring forth?

List of Officials of City of Bradford Co-operative Society Ltd., from 1860 to 1911.



PRESIDENTS:

Thomas Bower, 1860 to 1861.
George Butler, 1862 to June, 1863.
Charles Blakey, June to December, 1863.
John Bentley, June to December, 1863.
Charles Blakey, January, 1864, to August, 1868.
J. Helliwell, August, 1868, to August, 1870.
H. W. Naylor, August, 1870, to August, 1872.
J. Helliwell, August, 1872, to August, 1873.
J. Wintersgill, August, 1873, to August, 1876.
Wm. Farrar, August, 1876, to August, 1884.
Joseph Wilson, August 1884, to August, 1885.

J. M. Stead, May, 1885, to November, 1887.
J. Crabtree, November, 1887, to November, 1888.
M. Hopwood, November, 1888, to May, 1892.
J. W. Woodcock, May, 1892, to November, 1892.
M. Hopwood, November, 1892, to March, 1894.
B. Tate, March, 1894, to May, 1896.
S. Richardson, May, 1896, to November, 1898.
W. Cockroft, November, 1898, to March, 1899.
John Wilson, March, 1899, to March, 1901.
J. Morrell, March, 1901, to May, 1906.
F. Denman, May, 1906, to November, 1910.

SECRETARIES:

Joseph Womersley, 1860 to 1861.
Geo. Adamson, 1861 to 1862.
E. T. Schofield, 1861 to 1863.
George Skutt, 1862, 1863, and 1865
John Bentley, 1863 to 1865.
F. Schofield, January to June, 1865
(as Clerk) to September, 1865.

Edward Schofield, 1866 to 1870.
(as Cashier).
Geo. H. Hopkinson, 1870 to 1892.
Ezra Greenwood, November, 1892, to February
1894.
J. Bennett, 1894 to 1910.

TREASURERS:

Edwin Hopkinson, 1860 to 1862.
David Wilson, 1862 to 1870.
Edward Schofield, 1870 to 1892.
George H. Hopkinson, 1892 to 1910.

TRUSTEES:

Wm. Wooller	} 16th October, 1860, to June, 1863.	Wm. Wooller	} June, 1864, to February 7th, 1865.
Wm. Kitchenman		John Smith	
John Steel			
Wm. Wooller	} June, 1863, to December, 1863.	Wm. Wooller	} February, 1865. to July, 31st, 1865.
Peter Smith		John Smith	
Wm. Wooller		John Mercer	
John Smith	} December, 1863, to June, 1864.		
Peter Smith			

AUDITORS:

John Sutcliffe, 1860.	R. de Rome, May, 1897, to May, 1900.
E. T. Schofield, 1860 to 1861.	G. Mellson, November, 1898 to November, 1900.
W. Kitchenman, 1860 to 1861.	J. R. Rushworth, May, 1900, to November, 1909.
J. E. Allison, 1861 to 1864.	John Firth, November, 1900, to November, 1906.
Geo. Butler, 1861 to 1862.	D. Thornton, November, 1901, to November, 1902.
Joseph Womersley, 1862 to 1868.	J. Shuttleworth, November, 1901, to November, 1902.
Edward Gilyard, 1864 to 1865.	W. Blakey, November, 1901, to November, 1902.
John Shackleton, 1866 to 1869.	A. E. Shields, May, 1903, to November, 1910.
Bennett Carter, February, 1869, to 1874.	C. E. Claridge, November, 1906, to November, 1907.
J. W. Gill, August, 1869, to 1873.	J. B. Buckle, November, 1906, to November 1910.
E. White, 1873 to 1897.	H. V. Greenwood, November, 1907, to November, 1910.
Edward Gilyard, 1875 to 1884.	Joseph Rhodes, November, 1909, to November, 1910.
Jas. B. Fearnley, 1884 to 1893.	
Wm. Dawson, April, 1886, to April, 1887.	
J. W. Woodcock, April, 1893, to May, 1896.	
R. Raney, November, 1894, to November, 1901.	
H. A. Johnson, May, 1896, to May, 1903.	
G. Bray, May, 1897, to May, 1898.	

List of Committeemen.

* Previously on the West Bowling Society before amalgamation.

† Served on the old Bradford Industrial Society before amalgamation.

Angus, William	.. 1871-1872	Fearnley, Duke	.. 1863-1864
Aveyard, George	.. 1865-1866	Fletcher, James	.. 1885-1892
Bakes, Martin	.. 1885-1886	Fieldhouse, W.	.. 1862-1862
	1888-1893	Firth, Joseph	.. 1872-1877
*Baker, Henry	.. 1901-1902		1880-1884
*Baldwin, John	.. 1901-1910	Firth, John	.. 1900-1906
Banks, Thomas	.. 1903-1910	Firth, Alfred	.. 1892-1892
Bastow, Charles	.. 1892-1897	Fisher, Thomas	.. 1884-1886
	1898-1902	Galloway, Henry	.. 1891-1892
Bateman, Thomas	.. 1862-1863	Greenwood, John	.. 1880
Bateson, I. W.	.. 1884	Guy, J.	.. 1901-1910
Bradley, Mark	.. 1872-1878	Haigh, John	.. 1862-1867
Beanland, C.	.. 1868	Hall, Titus	.. 1871-1873
Bennett, Charles	.. 1906-1910	Hammond, Robert	.. 1873
Breaks, Richard	.. 1863-1870	Hargreaves, E.	.. 1901-1910
*Binns, Albert	.. 1901-1902	Harrison, Samuel	.. 1885
Broadbent, Benj.	.. 1862	Harris, A. J.	.. 1902
Brooksbank, Wm.	.. 1888-1890	Hartley, Wm.	.. 1865-1868
Brunt, Abraham	.. 1864	Hawksby, J.	.. 1866-1869
Burton, Peter	.. 1877-1881	Hellewell, David	.. 1860-1863
Butterfield, Frank	.. 1874	Hellewell, Joseph	.. 1872-1874
Case, John	.. 1874-1875	Hewitt, Joseph	.. 1884-1885
Clark, James	.. 1873-1875	Hey, James	.. 1902-1910
Clayton, D.	.. 1863-1864	Hillam, James	.. 1886-1890
Crabtree, Joseph	.. 1885-1890	Hillas, W. H.	.. 1871-1872
Clegg, William	.. 1885	*Hirst, Harrison	.. 1901-1902
Cooke, John	.. 1865-1866	Hodgson, H.	.. 1890-1910
Cockroft, W.	.. 1896-1901	Holmes, David	.. 1901
Cottam, Thomas	.. 1881-1884	Holroyde, Gideon	.. 1866-1868
Cotter, James	.. 1889-1894	Hooley, Jno. Geo.	.. 1890-1894
Cousen, Thomas	.. 1862-1864	Holmes, G.	.. 1901-1902
Cowburn, William	.. 1867-1868	Hopwood, Matthew	.. 1889-1893
Copperthwaite, S.	.. 1871	Horner, George	.. 1863-1864
Davis, John	.. 1870-1871	†Howarth, John	.. 1870
Dawson, Benjamin	.. 1873-1875	†Hudson, J.	.. 1869-1870
*Denison, W. W.	.. 1901-1902	*Husbands, W. C.	.. 1901-1902
*Denman, F.	.. 1901-1910	Ibbotson, John	.. 1863-1885
Dumville, John	.. 1887-1890	Irving, John	.. 1865-1866
Dumville, Thomas	.. 1892-1893	*Jackson, Alfred	.. 1901-1902
Elsworth, Ephraim	.. 1887-1891	Jackson, W. K.	.. 1881-1883
Farrar, William	.. 1873-1884	Jaggar, Edward	.. 1874-1878
Fearnley, William	.. 1865-1866	Jennings, Wm.	.. 1860

List of Committeemen—*continued.*

Jessop, Abraham	.. 1891-1893	Ramsden, John	.. 1867-1873
Johnson, H. A.	.. 1893-1896	Richardson, Southern	1893-1910
Jowett, F. W.	.. 1887-1890	Riley, Charles	.. 1884-1885
Kaye, James	.. 1864-1865	Robinson, Abraham..	1860-1861
Kershaw, Samuel	.. 1895-1896	Root, E.	.. 1895-1900
Kiddle, Henry	.. 1883-1885	*Rushworth, J.	.. 1901-1902
Laycock, Benj.	.. 1876-1883	Savile, John	.. 1860-1861
Laycock, Joseph	.. 1884-1885		1864-1865
Leach, Thomas	.. 1870-1872		1871-1872
	1881-1882	Shackleton, John	.. 1879-1883
	1887-1891	Shaftoe, Samuel	.. 1884-1885
Legge, H.	.. 1868	Sharp, Abram	.. 1869-1870
Lister, Smith	.. 1873-1874	Shaw, Henry	.. 1864
Lockwood, John	.. 1860	Staincliffe, John	.. 1862
Lodge, J.	.. 1893-1894	Senior, John	.. 1901-1910
Lush, H. W.	.. 1871-1874	Sewell, Henry	.. 1901-1910
Mallison, John	.. 1885-1888	Snell, G. A.	.. 1890-1892
Mallison, Joseph	.. 1886-1890	Stead, J. M.	.. 1878-1890
	1894-1896		1893-1897
	1899-1910	Stephenson, Enoch	.. 1885-1886
Mellor, Henry	.. 1910-1910	Smith, John	.. 1863-1865
Mercer, John	.. 1865	Smith, Peter	.. 1863-1864
Milner, Richard	.. 1872	Smith, Edward	.. 1907-1910
	1891-1894	Smith, J. H.	.. 1900-1910
Morrell, John	.. 1898-1910	Schofield, Edward	.. 1862-1865
Mort, Thomas	.. 1860	Schofield, Emanuel	.. 1880-1884
Moulson, Jonathan	.. 1897-1903	Sowden, Samuel	.. 1874-1882
Mountain, Mark	.. 1904-1910	Stocks, Robert	.. 1862-1863
Muschamp, T.	.. 1864-1865	Sucksmith, Joseph	.. 1860-1860
Myers, John	.. 1873-1874	Sunderland, Robert..	1879-1879
Mynard, Wm.	.. 1894-1910	Scurrah, A. H.	.. 1906-1910
Naylor, H. W.	.. 1869-1873	Shutt, George	.. 1862-1870
Nicholls, J. B.	.. 1885	Sykes, Wm.	.. 1860-1864
Nicholson, George	.. 1865-1867		1876-1877
Norris, Alfred	.. 1902-1910		1881-1883
Northam, Samuel	.. 1867-1868	Sykes, Joseph	.. 1864-1864
Norton, Edwin	.. 1860-1862	Sykes, Bentcliffe	.. 1876-1876
Nuttall, John	.. 1873-1881	Tate, Benjamin	.. 1883-1890
O'Haddock, A.	.. 1898-1899		1893-1910
O'Keefe, Maurice	.. 1897-1898	Thompson, John	.. 1861-1861
*Oldfield, James	.. 1901-1902	Townend, William	.. 1871-1872
Oxtoby, John	.. 1867-1868	Townson, Wm.	.. 1875-1884
Peel, Thomas	.. 1860-1864	Varley, E.	.. 1892-1893
	1869-1872	Waddington, J.	.. 1865-1874
Pexton, John	.. 1860-1864		1886-1889
	1886-1890	Waddington, S.	.. 1890-1891
	1895-1901	Walker, Joseph	.. 1865-1872
Pickles, Joshua	.. 1878		1901-1906
Pitts, J. W.	.. 1903-1906	*Walker, Joshua	.. 1901-1902
Priestley, John	.. 1875-1877	Wallace, Thomas	.. 1874-1878

List of Committeemen—*continued.*

Walmsley, Wm.	.. 1875-1884	Wilson, David	.. 1860-1864
Warman, Wm.	.. 1875-1875	Wilson, Joseph	.. 1884-1887
Watson, A.	.. 1893-1897	Wilson, John	.. 1896-1901
	1901-1902	Wintersgill, J.	.. 1867-1873
Webster, Eli	.. 1872-1873	Wood, R., senr.	.. 1875-1878
Whiteley, James	.. 1866-1866		1883-1885
Whittaker, S.	.. 1875-1876	Wood, R., junr.	.. 1884-1885
Wilkinson, T. N.	.. 1863-1864	Woodcock, J. W.	.. 1890-1983
Wilman, Matthew	.. 1879-1884	Woodrow, Charles	.. 1884-1885



Statistics.

Date.	Members.	Sales.	Capital.	Profit.
Dec. 31st, 1860	201	795 15 5	202 15 0	33 2 5
June 29th, 1861	425	3,713 8 9 $\frac{1}{2}$	582 8 2	96 1 10
Dec. 31st, 1861	471	4,775 17 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	655 9 5	190 3 2 $\frac{1}{2}$
June 30th, 1862	598	6,007 16 1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1,120 14 7	294 11 8 $\frac{1}{2}$
Dec. 31st, 1862	677	7,703 5 8 $\frac{1}{2}$	1,382 5 1 $\frac{1}{2}$	448 7 9
June 30th, 1863	935	8,244 1 4	1,844 0 3	400 3 3
Dec. 31st, 1863	1,024	11,519 18 2	2,371 8 7	587 3 4 $\frac{1}{2}$
June 30th, 1864	—	11,360 14 10	2,756 7 1	477 18 9 $\frac{1}{2}$
Dec. 31st, 1864	—	12,532 19 7	3,110 16 11 $\frac{1}{2}$	593 9 10 $\frac{1}{2}$
July 4th, 1865	—	12,080 7 5 $\frac{1}{2}$	3,189 3 7	466 1 4 $\frac{1}{2}$
Nov. 7th, 1865	—	5,776 9 11 $\frac{1}{2}$	3,175 0 11	305 9 6 $\frac{1}{2}$
Feb. 6th, 1866	—	6,158 16 3 $\frac{1}{2}$	3,306 15 6	295 8 6
May 1st, 1866	—	6,258 18 10	3,732 3 11	263 12 2
Aug. 7th, 1866	—	6,083 13 8	3,803 4 8	278 0 6
Oct. 1st, 1866	—	6,028 4 8 $\frac{1}{2}$	4,001 1 7 $\frac{1}{2}$	294 0 5
Dec. 31st, 1866	—	6,395 7 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	4,402 17 8 $\frac{1}{2}$	418 6 10
July 1st, 1867	—	15,452 5 0	5,608 18 4 $\frac{1}{2}$	590 17 6 $\frac{1}{2}$
Dec. 31st, 1867	—	18,359 13 9	6,317 18 8 $\frac{1}{2}$	1,005 19 7 $\frac{1}{2}$
June 30th, 1868	—	22,172 12 3 $\frac{1}{2}$	7,261 18 8	836 19 2 $\frac{1}{2}$
Jan. 4th, 1869	—	23,487 6 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	8,793 14 8 $\frac{1}{2}$	830 8 3
July 5th, 1869	—	25,250 11 10	11,156 8 10 $\frac{1}{2}$	811 14 2 $\frac{1}{2}$
Jan. 4th, 1870	—	28,219 4 6	10,855 19 7	1,247 3 6
July 4th, 1870	—	32,216 9 1	13,249 15 6	1,557 15 11
Jan. 2nd, 1871	—	35,502 9 10	15,202 5 3	1,643 4 7
July 3rd, 1871	—	37,049 9 11	16,698 0 2	1,931 12 11
Jan. 1st, 1872	—	41,543 19 10	19,801 6 6	2,036 7 9
July 1st, 1872	—	43,062 14 6	23,844 11 8	1,967 5 10
Dec. 31st, 1872	—	43,036 14 3	27,592 0 0	2,074 0 7
June 30th, 1873	—	43,936 10 6	27,176 15 0	2,027 14 6
Jan. 5th, 1874	3,184	45,029 12 9	28,284 3 10	2,318 0 9
July 6th, 1874	3,259	44,466 13 4	29,631 4 9	2,180 15 7
Jan. 4th, 1875	3,329	43,378 7 4	31,163 12 7	2,162 9 0
July 5th, 1875	3,314	41,009 6 5	32,163 15 9	2,347 18 4
Jan. 3rd, 1876	3,406	41,344 5 11	33,967 1 1	3,147 10 8
July 3rd, 1876	3,619	44,397 17 0	38,351 6 1	2,977 6 10
Jan. 2nd, 1877	3,780	45,652 14 10	38,704 12 4	3,736 1 2
July 2nd, 1877	4,047	51,273 3 6	41,599 1 7	3,128 15 2
Jan. 1st, 1878	4,304	53,956 14 10	43,311 11 1	3,961 8 5
July 1st, 1878	4,624	56,633 4 7	45,082 12 9	3,770 5 10

Statistics—continued.

Date.			Members.	Sales.			Capital.			Profit.		
Jan.	6th,	1879	4,800	56,149	16	3	49,276	0	2	4,446	15	6
June	30th,	1879	4,917	51,330	17	3	52,339	4	8	3,860	0	0
Jan.	5th,	1880	5,021	60,958	13	2	54,835	8	4	6,416	2	11
* July	5th,	1880	5,541	73,382	8	3	60,289	2	8	4,946	4	6
* Jan.	3rd,	1881	5,611	64,897	3	6	62,301	9	2	5,677	1	9
July	4th,	1881	5,816	68,924	4	11	65,280	2	7	5,330	3	8
Jan.	2nd,	1882	6,002	72,723	6	1	70,188	15	4	7,093	7	3
July	3rd,	1882	6,280	77,185	6	8	73,946	12	10	6,137	9	6
Jan.	1st,	1883	6,550	78,701	2	8	78,306	9	0	6,665	19	4
July	2nd,	1883	6,719	76,356	8	3	75,499	10	1	6,077	17	3
Dec.	31st,	1883	6,803	74,418	5	0	74,436	10	9	6,222	3	5
June	30th,	1884	6,810	72,879	12	5	72,166	12	0	7,807	0	1
Jan.	5th,	1885	6,800	68,819	15	8	71,584	17	10	6,837	19	1
Oct.	5th,	1885	6,952	67,136	18	7	71,693	16	5	7,198	18	7
April	5th,	1886	7,051	73,801	2	2	77,019	14	4	7,856	9	1
Oct.	4th,	1886	7,186	69,678	5	4	78,905	4	0	8,181	6	10
April	4th,	1887	7,352	80,903	2	9	84,227	9	7	10,310	13	9
Oct.	3rd,	1887	7,788	83,768	14	7	89,020	2	3	11,332	11	0
April	2nd,	1888	8,363	94,069	4	11	96,522	4	9	12,603	19	0
Oct.	1st,	1888	8,690	94,550	3	2	98,742	6	4	13,799	15	10
April	1st,	1889	9,535	115,760	17	5	107,318	5	0	15,689	13	1
Oct.	1st,	1889	9,812	108,149	18	1	109,741	17	7	15,584	12	2
April	1st,	1890	10,151	110,960	5	2	116,402	5	0	16,398	8	6
Oct.	6th,	1890	10,336	112,304	5	9	120,330	7	9	16,996	7	10
April	6th,	1891	10,891	128,849	16	9	126,076	4	8	19,496	5	11
Oct.	5th,	1891	11,256	127,547	7	6	130,212	4	4	18,569	1	3
April	4th,	1892	12,020	149,789	8	10	139,638	19	11	21,515	5	4
Oct.	3rd,	1892	12,593	141,016	9	8	141,948	9	3	21,378	15	5
April	3rd,	1893	13,618	154,113	5	8	149,126	16	10	23,061	1	10
Oct.	2nd,	1893	14,131	150,472	6	9	151,579	1	3	21,243	5	1
April	2nd,	1894	14,137	136,915	11	2	149,196	4	2	19,951	13	0
Oct.	2nd,	1894	13,864	118,405	13	11	143,642	4	9	17,041	9	4
April	2nd,	1895	14,017	130,312	1	9	148,761	18	9	21,132	4	1
Oct.	1st,	1895	14,375	130,991	12	11	153,380	1	7	19,479	19	11
April	7th,	1896	15,379	159,250	15	8	172,473	16	11	24,935	1	0
Oct.	6th,	1896	15,803	154,275	13	4	185,854	4	10	24,411	10	1
April	6th,	1897	16,178	187,387	7	8	209,264	11	7	28,882	6	1
Oct.	5th,	1897	16,973	182,662	12	5	224,782	14	7	29,085	6	9
April	5th,	1898	17,588	205,386	17	5	246,941	6	6	31,918	14	10
Sept.	20th,	1898	17,389	176,597	15	1	248,519	0	5	27,509	1	4
Mar.	21st,	1899	17,946	206,084	14	10	263,607	5	5	32,113	17	5
Sept.	19th,	1899	18,337	203,752	6	10	271,777	9	7	32,264	1	6
Mar.	20th,	1900	18,203	230,419	8	8	289,276	5	2	36,215	4	3
Sept.	18th,	1900	19,999	230,651	6	11	294,030	5	0	35,635	1	2
Mar.	19th,	1901	20,166	247,924	7	3	307,255	9	10	37,003	5	11

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